Women and Factory Work:
A case in Cagayan De Oro City, Philippines

by

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DECLARATION

The data used in this thesis were collected during field work organised and executed by me. Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, the analysis and data in this thesis represent my original research.

Chona R. Echavez
2 August, 1996

For God's greater glory and honour and lovingly dedicated to Daddy and Mommy through whom He has expressed His kindness and love through their patience, understanding and faith in me, by which I have drawn much more than strength.

Prologue: Treading on a road less travelled

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveller, long I stood
And looked down as far as I could
To where it bent on the undergrowth;

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same, . . .

Robert Frost, 'The Road Not Taken' in *Complete Poems by Robert Frost* (1966: 129)

What comprises a demography thesis? Does this thesis belong to the field of demography or another field? These questions have been nagging at me throughout the course of writing this thesis. In a field where numbers and techniques dominate and where studies of datasets and samples of several thousands are considered small, my case study seemed to be out of place because it was based primarily on qualitative data. Although more recent studies in demography have employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches, qualitative data have generally been treated as secondary and less important than quantitative data. Quantitative data have been given the primary role, and qualitative data only a supporting role. In my thesis, the reverse is the case.

Perhaps, I was confronted with the dilemma because of my limited view of the field as focusing on three major events in life: birth, marriage and death. As I reviewed the demography literature, I found that interest seemed to revolve largely around themes in fertility, mortality and migration. My case study of women's work thus seemed on the edge of the core concerns of the discipline.

This study is different because the qualitative data have been given prominence to 'tell their own story' in a way that may seem more 'subjective' than is usual in a discipline dominated by 'objective' quantitative techniques. The process of writing this thesis has

helped me to demolish the restrictive walls of my own preconceptions that a thesis has to deal with numbers, large samples and 'sophisticated' techniques in order to be a demographic thesis. There was a point when I did not feel comfortable to be doing what seemed to be different from most of my peers. Until I delivered my mid-term review, I tried my best to make the study 'demographic' (from my own perspective) by emphasising the quantitative data and relegating the qualitative data to the background.

The emphasis in my writing changed course after my mid-term review. I was able to follow the path I really wanted to take but had felt unable to because of the fear of being different and not following the norm. The go-signal came from points raised during the evaluation of my mid-term review by the committee comprising my supervisory panel, the then Director of the Graduate Studies in Demography and the acting Coordinator of the Demography Program. I quote:

> 1. At present the quantitative data are driving the thesis, the qualitative data being very much in the background. This emphasis needs to be changed to give qualitative data much greater prominence. . .These data (qualitative data) should not merely be used to support preconceptions and points made by tables. They should be allowed to tell their own story. . Ms. Echavez . . .should avoid trying to tackle essentially qualitative phenomena using quantitative data (other than in a support role).
>
> 2. Ms. Echavez should not become preoccupied with making her thesis 'demographic'. This seems to be a major reason for the overemphasis being placed on quantitative data.

Encouraged and enlightened by these comments, I felt more confident in deviating from the positivist approach with its *a priori* hypothesis and statistical design to guide and structure the research. During the following months there was a stage when I was on tenterhooks waiting to find the 'story' that I felt my data would produce. However, I found that there are no short cuts to good research, whether quantitative or qualitative. I had to go through the entire process of analysis, reflection and synthesis. Even when I had run all the crosstabulations on my quantitative data and had completed the individual life histories from my qualitative data things did not fall into place. I still had to finish analysing my qualitative data in ways that seemed just as 'sophisticated' and 'technical' as those used for the quantitative data: coding and creating sets, subsets, and intersections of the characteristics of women, their work status and work roles, their roles as wives and mothers and their personal roles.

After having coded and created themes and sets, subsets and intersections certain themes, sub-themes and ideas keep coming up. I tried to summarise them. I examined whether the data on the different groups of women were revealing similar or different themes, and I compared what the data on the main categories (factory, non-factory, and homemakers) indicated about their roles as wives, mothers, income-earners and workers.

As I did this, I found that the data were telling me a 'story' in the sense of a coherent and related set of themes about the meaning of work for the various groups of women. I did not have to look for the story; the story found me. In this process, my informants were the main actors through the qualitative data they had provided and I, the researcher, was much in the background.

However, as the researcher, I was not as much in the background in the collection and analysis of that qualitative data as has usually been assumed to be the case for the quantitative data. Therefore, in telling the story that emerged from my informants, I have used the personal 'I' in the text. This follows the practice of other researchers (Fernadez-Kelly, 1984; Robinson, 1986; Zavella, 1987; Scott, 1988; and Wolf, 1992) in the field of anthropology, although it is not usual in the field of demography. The 'I' seems appropriate here. Although I am telling the story of my informants, my own role is not a minor one. I have chosen those parts of their story that seemed interesting and important to me. Thus, I have shaped the emphasis. The 'I' delineates where my own role, orientation and perception and reactions as a researcher emerged.

I would not have come up with this piece of work without the help of so many people. They deserve very special thanks and words may not do justice to the help they have extended.

In social research, respondents seem to get lost in a crowd and eventually become coded numbers in the computer but I would like to thank the hundreds of respondents who in 1993 answered the Baseline Study questionnaires and later those selected in the sample who underwent another round of interview for the Survey. I do gratefully record their patience and understanding.

I especially give thanks to the women in Mauswagon who offered their insights, hospitality and friendship and whose experience informs this work. I am humbled by their generosity, openness, and honesty.

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my voluminous data. Dr. Chris McMurray, my current chair, supported and challenged some of my views and perspectives, and her comments enlightened me during our discussions. Dr. Lorraine Corner clarified my ideas regarding this work. She was a source of constructive criticism and generous support. I owe her so much for her interest in my work and her encouragement throughout the course of my thesis writing. And her availability to be consulted wherever she was in which ever part of the globe I gratefully record.

Ms Marian May not only read the first draft of the not so-complete manuscript, made insightful, substantive and editorial suggestions but also throughout the course of my studies she was a source of comfort and strength when thesis writing took its toll. I do thank her for her help in sorting out problems, giving insights in writing styles, and her friendship. I thank her as well for introducing me to my great friend Meg.

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To Bu: it is the 'reproductive' work of men like him that enabled women like me to pursue graduate studies. In him I found the crossing of gender roles not only in ideals but in actual practice and in him God's loving and caring are made manifest.

My love and thanks to Nong King-king, Rose, Noy-noy, Gigi, and Em-em, Layloy and Andrew for the loving and understanding showered in the family and to Mommy and Daddy for bringing us up to believe in love and to the more of life...

Abstract

This study examines factory work and women's gender roles at work and in the home in a village in Cagayan, de Oro City, Philippines. Factory work at Quality Foods Incorporated (QFI) provides a stage for an in-depth investigation of women's work, roles and gender. The difference factory work made to women's lives is examined in relation to their economic autonomy, decision-making power within the household, control and disposition of income earned, and workload in the domestic division of labour.

The study compares women factory workers with non-factory workers and homemakers. It also adopts a woman-centred focus, although men are included so that gender issues can be explored.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches are used in this study. The quantitative data were obtained from 5,959 individuals and 1,050 households covered in the Baseline Study conducted in five out of the seven zones in Mauswagon, the study area. From the baseline population, a sample of 300 women aged 15-49 (100 in each work category) were randomly selected. A total of 293 men aged 15 and above who were residents in the randomly selected women's households were also included. (Seven households of the women included in the survey had no male residents.) Qualitative data were provided by in-depth interviews, life histories of informants, and participant observation in the factory as a night and day shift worker.

The Baseline and Survey data generated background information about the women and men studied, while the qualitative data provided an in-depth understanding of women's gender roles at work and in the home by examining the internal dynamics within families and the working environment. A narrative style has been employed to present some of the qualitative data, allowing women to some extent to 'speak for themselves'.

One of the findings was that factory workers in Mauswagon do not fit the typical picture of young and single women working in most of the multi-national companies and

export- processing plants that mushroomed in the Philippines in the late 1960s to early 1990s. A mixture of young and mature, single and married women worked at QFI. Having children less than seven years of age did not deter women from working in the factory.

Factory work had contradictory effects on the lives of women in relation to the workload and tasks performed in the workplace and at home, and decision-making power and power relations within the household. The relatively high incomes women earned from the factory gave them considerable power at the household level and in organising daily family affairs. However, this was often undermined by their over-commitment to credit schemes, repayments taking a large proportion from their fortnightly pay, and by the extent to which women's earnings enabled men to withdraw from major financial and domestic responsibilities to pursue their personal needs and leisure. Married and never-married factory workers enjoyed more power in household decision-making than the never-married non-factory workers or homemakers. Never-married factory workers also spent the least time on housework among the women studied. The hours devoted to housework were especially small when they were the major contributors to the family income.

Although women factory workers received relatively high incomes, they were associated with manual work that was classified as 'unskilled' by management. They occupied the lowest positions in the QFI hierarchy with very few opportunities for upward mobility. The contradiction inherent in the 'unskilled' classification accorded to the women's work was evident when QFI managers enumerated the skills that their women workers possessed that made them suitable for work at the preparation table. This list of 'skills' included manual skills, visual acuity, delicate touch, tolerance of monotonous and repetitive tasks, and attentiveness to detail.

Women, especially ever-married women, still bore the burden of housework regardless of whether they were in the paid workforce. However as women spent a greater portion of their time in the workplace, crossing-over of the boundaries of traditional gender roles occurred in the domestic arena. Men from working women's households spent more time on housework than men from women homemakers' households. However, although paid work modified the domestic division of labour and reduced the mean number of hours women spent on housework, domestic work was still perceived as

women's primary responsibility by both men and women themselves. Hence, working women suffered a double burden of attending to both paid and domestic work.

Finally, the effects of factory work on women's lives in Mauswagon were multi-faceted. Some were empowered in terms of making decisions and financial autonomy, while most were oppressed by the double burden of paid and domestic work. However, as women factory workers were faced with very few alternatives, they were willing to continue to endure the monotony, repetitiveness, pressure, and difficulty of their work. Factory work may have had varied meanings to the women but it remained a considerable source of economic and social satisfaction for them.

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1 Introduction

> *...women... continue to act and react, shaping and being shaped by the transformation that characterises their world. ...they have managed to face inherent conflicts and contradictions and to devise compromises and accommodations... We have caught them at the one moment..., but their worlds continue to change and their balancing acts continue. (Johnson, 1992: 5).*

This study is about women and factory work in Mauswagon, a village within Cagayan de Oro City, Philippines. It examines whether factory work made a difference to women's lives in areas such as decision making power in the household, especially in relation to their incomes, economic autonomy, the tasks they performed, and their workload in the household and workplace. In a broader context, the inter-relationships between women's gender roles at work and in the home are an integral aspect of the study. Throughout, the names of the people, the village and the factory under study have been changed in order to conceal the identities of those involved.

This chapter sets out the purpose, research questions, and structure of the thesis. The subjects are introduced by three composite portraits of women factory workers, non-factory workers and homemakers which introduce the issues and concepts covered in this study and lay the groundwork for the study to build on in succeeding chapters.

In this thesis the term 'women working in the factory' is used interchangeably with 'women factory workers'. 'Factory workers' are the women who worked at Quality Foods Incorported (QFI), the factory selected as the focal point of the study. All of the women in the 'non-factory worker' category were wage- or salary-earners working at places other than QFI. The term 'women working but not in the factory' is used interchangeably with 'non-factory workers'. Women 'homemakers' were neither wage- or salary-earners nor self-employed. They stayed at home and kept house without pay.

At the beginning of the study I used the term 'houseworkers' instead of 'homemakers'. I did not use the term 'non-working women' to avoid the implication that women who were non-income-earners were not working at all. However, I found out later that the term 'houseworkers' could be interpreted as women who worked for pay but were home based. 'Houseworkers' could also be considered to be women who were paid for piece work carried out at home. Therefore, I decided to use the term 'homemakers' to refer to the women who stayed at home and were not paid in monetary terms for the housework they did. Having clarified the terms used in categorising women's work, a brief background is given before the portraits of women are presented.

These portraits present the stories of typical women in the different work categories covered by this study. Although the study focuses on women factory workers, the composite case-studies of their non-factory peers highlight the ways in which their lives were similar to those of other women, as well as the ways in which they were different. The three portraits show women who are individuals, each with individual personalities; who lead unique lives. However, although the women are individuals, they also share common views and experiences.

Portraits

Minda: A factory worker

Minda was a 29-year-old factory worker at Quality Foods Incorporated (QFI). She had finished high school but did not pursue a college education because her parents were unable to afford to send her to college. Minda lived with her parents and four younger siblings. Her mother stayed at home as a homemaker. Her father had been a factory worker at QFI, but opted for the early retirement offered by QFI and received a lump sum. In 1993, her father performed odd jobs for the neighbourhood for a fee.

Immediately after her high school graduation Minda applied at QFI for work but was not accepted. She tried applying for other jobs, as a saleswoman in several department stores, a worker in a local biscuit company, and a waitress in a restaurant, but again was not accepted. Jobs were scarce in the early to mid-1980s since these were the years when the country was in severe economic crisis. Even college graduates had difficulty in obtaining work. Minda stayed at home and performed housework for the family for two years. Then she worked for a while as *yaya* (nanny) to her neighbour's children,

accompanying the two preparatory school boys aged five and six to school and waiting for them until classes were finished before bringing them home. The pay was low, but according to Minda it was better than nothing. However, the boys started getting naughty and they would not heed her when she reprimanded them. Sometimes they would just run off down the street without her. She decided to quit because she was afraid that she would be held responsible if something happened to them.

Minda ventured into a 'buy and sell' business. She bought on credit from a neighbour home-made preserved foodstuffs such as peanut butter, guava jelly, *bukayo* (sweetened grated coconut), banana chips, and from a classmate who had a 'buy and sell' business, but on a larger scale, ready-made clothes such as blouses, shirts, pants and short pants. To the purchase price of the foodstuffs she added 20 to 40 per cent and 50 to 100 per cent to the purchase price of the clothes. Her 'buy and sell' business did not flourish because she lacked capital and she also encountered problems with the repayments. If she had had enough capital she could have bought her goods for cash at a lower price. However, her capital was so small that she could not do this and thus had difficulty meeting the repayments for the goods she bought on credit from her supplier.

Two years ago, a distant relative of her father was promoted to a supervisory position at QFI. Her father approached the relative and asked if he could help Minda obtain a job at QFI. As a result, the relative backed Minda's application. 'You cannot get inside QFI if you don't have a backer,' Minda declared emphatically.

According to Minda, factory work was not easy. The noise inside the factory together with the repetitive tasks of trimming or poking eyes of hundreds of pineapples made her weary by the end of the shift. However, 'The pay makes the hard work worth the while, especially since the income earned is essential for subsistence,' Minda explained.

Minda earned from P4,000 to 6,000 (US$147.60 - 221.40[1])gross monthly, depending on whether it was a 'heavy canning' season or not. During 'heavy canning' factory workers worked longer hours and, since they were paid by the hour, they also earned higher pay for the period. However, Minda's take home pay was about half or less than half of her gross income after repayments for loans she had incurred and goods she had bought on credit at the cooperative store had been deducted.

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[1] The exchange rate was P27.10: US$1 in 1993.

Her mother earned a small income from selling 'ready-made' meals at lunch and dinner time, from a small stall she had set up near their house. At times the capital was 'eaten up' and her mother could not buy foodstuffs for cooking. According to Minda, although the earnings from the sale of foodstuffs were not high, at least the cost of the family's meals were covered by the mark-up on the food they sold. Her mother was enterprising. Although Minda contributed the largest portion of the family upkeep, the family could not have survived if it depended on Minda's income alone. Her father's income was not regular. At times there were a number of calls on his labour for fence repair, labouring or construction work when someone wanted to build a house. However, at other times no work was available for him.

Minda's income primarily went into meeting the family's day-to-day needs. She gave her mother money for their daily expenses on pay-day. A portion of her income went to purchasing the school needs for her siblings, one in elementary and two in high school. Next to her in age was a brother who had dropped out while in the first year of high school. In 1993 he worked as a *jeepney*[2] *conductor*[3]. He had once agreed to pay for the household's electricity and water bills every month as his contribution. However, he only paid the bills for two months and then complained that his income was not enough to regularly shoulder those expenses. He insisted that he would only pay the bills when he earned more as a *conductor*. Her brother's irregular contribution was a cause of conflict between him and Minda. Their mother allowed her brother to make whatever contribution he wished. At times, Minda admitted, he was generous in buying foodstuffs that were different from those they usually ate, but this was irregular. Minda felt that other people benefited more from her brother's earnings, especially the family of the girl that he was courting.

Their home was of a generous size and made mostly of wood with a galvanised iron roof. It was built when Minda's father received his lump sum pay from his retirement. 'At least he remembered us before he squandered his money away on gambling and drinking with his friends,' Minda said with a tinge of bitterness. Minda proudly reported that it was her bonus the previous Christmas (1992) that had replaced the roofing on their house. The house had been built more than ten years before and the

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[2] A *jeepney* is a 16-to 18-seat, modified army jeep used as a mode of public transportation in the Philippines.

[3] A *jeepney conductor* is one who assists the *jeepney* driver by helping passengers with their loads, seeing that the *jeepney* is filled to capacity, and collecting the fare from passengers

original galvanised iron was of poor quality and already corroded and full of holes. Minda also explained that she had bought the electric fan, the black-and-white television, the transistor radio, some kitchen utensils and plastic wares from her income. 'I bought them on credit. I could not buy them on a cash basis. The terms of payment lasted up to six months and sometimes longer...I did not buy them all at once. After I paid off one item, I would buy another.'

Her younger siblings and mother performed most of the housework. Minda was freed from housework if she worked on day shift during weekdays because she was very tired when she returned from work. During weekends she washed her clothes and helped clean the house. After a whole night's work on night shift, she usually went to sleep. After resting, she sometimes helped her mother prepare food and other times visited friends to catch up on what had been going on.

Minda told me that she had persuaded her mother that her younger brothers and sister should be taught to do housework so that they would not end up like the brother next in age to her who did not help with the household chores. She claimed that her parents spoiled him. She said that she was usually consulted on family decisions, even with regard to whether her younger brother and sister were allowed to join school outings. She said this was primarily because she partly met the costs if they joined in any activity that involved spending money.

While Minda was still in high school she had envisioned herself as married by the age of 25. When she reached 25 years of age she had no regular job and she knew she could not marry then, so she told herself that in five years time, she would get married. However, she sighed, 'I'm now 29 years old, but I still have to help my family. . .'

Rita: A non-factory worker

Rita was a 36-year-old cashier in a government office who was married to a *leadman*[4] in the automotive shop at QFI who was a year her senior. She had finished a degree in commerce while her husband had finished a vocational course in automotive mechanics. Her husband once taught in one of the vocational schools in nearby Cagayan de Oro

[4] A *leadman* at the automotive shop maintains repair, examines automotive equipment for defects of operation and locates faulty parts.

City, but he resigned to take a job at QFI that offered higher pay. They had three children, two boys aged 11 and nine years and a girl aged six years.

Rita had been in her job for eight years. She had worked for two years in an insurance company after her graduation, but the company folded up and she found herself without a job. It was by accident that she learned from a friend that the office in which the friend was working - in 1993 was in need of casual workers. She applied and was accepted. She was fortunate to have passed the civil service examination set by the government. She started as a casual worker, then was offered a regular position as an accounting clerk. She was later promoted to cashier, a position she still held in 1993.

Rita considered herself fortunate to have been promoted to become a cashier in her office. She reported that promotion was slow, especially in the administrative department. Some of her co-workers had been working as clerks for more than 10 years and still had not been promoted. According to Rita, the pay of a government worker was quite low. A factory worker earned more than she did, especially during heavy canning. She had contemplated applying at QFI when she was younger and not yet married. However, she was sickly then and was not sure whether she could bear standing the whole day. She also wanted to apply her college training to her work.

Although Rita envied one of her classmates, a forewoman at QFI, for the higher pay she received, she told me that there were other things that she enjoyed that could not be equated with money, such as the camaraderie that existed among her workmates in the office. She also pointed out that she was not as physically pressured in her work as were factory workers. Also she enjoyed attending training courses related to her work that were offered by her office and sometimes by inter-agency sponsorship. Her husband received quite good pay so their combined income could meet their needs.

When her husband obtained a job at QFI and their first baby was born, he suggested that Rita resign from her job and stay at home to be a full-time wife and mother. She was not a cashier at that time. She 'put her foot down' and insisted that she would continue to work after her two-month maternity leave. She hired a *yaya* (nanny) to take care of her newborn child. It was not expensive because the *yaya* was an unmarried distant relative. She felt that it was important that she earned her own income, no matter how small, and she also enjoyed her work. Furthermore, she had already foreseen the needs

of her growing family. Her husband agreed that she could continue working as long as she did not neglect her duties as wife and mother. Rita said that she had kept this bargain. She agreed with her husband that looking after the family was her responsibility.

Rita's husband turned over his income to Rita every pay-day, but he kept an amount to himself for his allowance for the entire fortnight. Rita took charge of budgeting the amount she received and buying their day-to-day needs. In 1993 Rita was thankful that she had not resigned from her job as her husband had suggested years ago since they would have been financially disadvantaged with just one wage-earner in the family. Her income contributed significantly to the family upkeep. Rita claimed that both she and her husband had decided on the number of children they would have, as well as the spacing of the children. They both decided on purchases of goods that cost more than P3,000, but at times her husband alone had decided to buy smuggled household appliances. These goods were brought in by the ship from overseas. His main reason for doing this was if he did not commit himself to buying the goods somebody else would buy them at the price offered (which was lower than the market price). At times, her husband would 'consult her' by pretending that he had not decided yet. However, she knew that the transaction had been completed and it was only a matter of paying for the goods. She complained from time to time about this, but her husband produced the counter-argument that he earned the money that was used for payment.

A distant relative lived with them as a working student. Rita and her husband paid for her schooling and needs; in turn she performed some household chores for the family, but even so, Rita did not leave all the housework to the working student. Rita supervised some of her work and did other chores herself. For example, she cooked the family dinner while the working student helped prepare the ingredients. Also, Rita ironed her husband's clothes since he was meticulous and insisted that his clothes were well-ironed; she also ironed her own clothes. The children's clothes were ironed by the working student.

Rita aspired to be promoted to a higher position in her workplace. She claimed that she was a good worker and capable of handling more responsibility. However, she did not want to win success at work at the expense of her family. According to Rita, her family

came first. She ensured that her family did not suffer because she was working outside the home.

Linda: A homemaker

Linda was a 32-year-old homemaker married to a store clerk at QFI who was four years her senior. They had two children, a boy aged seven and a girl aged four. Her husband wanted two more children but she felt that two, a boy and a girl, was enough. She had finished high school but did not pursue her studies because she needed to earn an income to help her family. She came from a large family of eight girls and four boys, with only a one-year gap between successive children. She stayed at home for a year after her high school graduation and the next year began work as a saleswoman in one of the department stores.

Linda stopped working when she married. Her husband preferred that she stay at home and take care of him and, later, the children. She had agreed, since her husband had told her beforehand (when he courted her) that he would prefer a wife who would stay at home. She said that she had not regretted her decision to defer to her husband's preference. She felt that her children needed her, especially as they were still small. If she worked outside and earned an income she would still have to pay for someone to take care of her children and the house. Furthermore, Linda felt that the care a hired help would give to her children would not be comparable to the care that she herself would give them. Keeping the house clean and taking care of her children and husband had been a source of satisfaction to her.

Linda claimed that she had a hectic work schedule every day preparing meals, cleaning the kitchen and the whole house, washing clothes and taking care of her four-year old daughter. During the first months after school started, she had to take her eldest, who was a first grader in 1993, to school. By the time of the interview, the boy could fend for himself and went to school with a classmate and his classmate's elder sister who was in fifth grade. Linda said she often reminded her son to take care in crossing the street. She also asked the fifth grader watch him as the three of them crossed the street. Her husband took the children for a stroll some afternoons if he did not work overtime. On Saturday evening, he took charge of cooking the main dish for dinner. He reserved Sunday afternoons to go to the cock pit.

Linda's husband also turned his salary over to her. He earned a little more than P6,000 per month. He usually kept his overtime pay for his own needs, such as cigarettes and drinks (alcoholic). However, at times his cigarettes and drinks were included in the household expenditure because he bought them on credit. On pay-day, Linda would pay the store where they regularly bought their day-to-day needs, including her husband's cigarette and drinks, on credit. I personally thought that Linda's husband was quiet, but Linda said that he was a 'loud-mouth' when drunk. His drinking was the cause of trouble and quarrels between them. According to Linda, he got drunk at least twice a month, on pay-days.

Since Linda married, she had not been able to extend help to her parents by giving them money regularly. Her husband's income was just enough for their own needs and obligations (payments for goods bought on credit). However, when she visited her parents with the children, she usually took something for them, usually food, and on special occasions new clothes.

Linda remembered harder times as a child. She had not owned a toy nor had her brothers and sisters. This was the reason why she preferred to have just two children. In her assessment, things were better for her and the family she had established. She said that even if it was only her husband who was working, at least they could afford to buy a few housing amenities, such as a colour television set, standing electric fan, refrigerator, and wall clock. Linda said that both of them made most household decisions, except for her not working outside the home. However, in buying household appliances, her husband's decision weighed more heavily than hers. Linda felt that this was right because he was the one who was earning. However, she added that, although her husband was the one earning, her wise budgeting also enabled them to buy extra things.

Linda would like to see her own dreams fulfilled in the lives of her children, and hoped that they would finish their studies. When pressed as to what it was that she wanted for herself, she said: a long life so that she could see those dreams fulfilled.

About the portraits

The portraits present a generalised account of the women's work in the factory, outside the factory, and at home, as well as of their roles as wives, mothers, daughters and

sisters. They share their experiences of how work is divided within the household, and of how they came to be in a particular occupational category. As the women's stories unfold, differences and similarities emerge among women in the various occupations. Interactions come into play between women's gender roles at work and in the home. Working women, especially if married, did not drop their domestic roles when they joined the workforce. They still performed the housework after they returned home from their paid work. Most married women deferred to their husband's wishes, but some women like Rita, defied their husbands' decision that they should stop working. Even then, they agreed to the condition that their roles as wives and mothers should not be affected by their paid work. Whoever earned more and contributed more in absolute amount to household income had a greater 'say' in the household decision-making. Since most husbands earned more than their working wives, it was husbands who tended to make decisions about buying goods worth P3,000 or more. Never-married factory workers were more empowered in their households due to the money they brought home. This was especially true if their incomes contributed a large portion of the household income.

The narrative style adopted in the portraits to some extent allows the women to speak for themselves. Lieblich and Josselson (1994: xi) noted that women have been storytellers in many cultures, yet their different voices have often not been heard. I have tried to adopt Rosen's (1987: 168) style, by presenting the portraits of the women's lives as much as possible in their own words. They are not presented just as figures or statistics. Included are their feelings about the role of work in their lives, as well as their roles at home and their growing anxieties as they coped with economic and family issues. These further our understanding of the factors that affected their daily lives, decisions, choices and constraints within the family and in their working environment.

This study has attempted to answer the call made by Scott (1988: 2) 'to make women the focus of the inquiry, a subject of the story, an agent of the narrative'. In sharing their experiences, the women have provided a glimpse of their hopes, dreams, and aspirations, as well as of problems they confronted. Individual, as well as composite cases of women's experiences are presented in the succeeding chapters of this thesis.

Research questions

How does factory work affect women's lives? To answer this basic question, this study analyses several questions about decisions and relationships centred on women's work inside and outside the home. Who were the women working in the factory? A comparison of factory workers with their non-factory peers (homemakers and those working outside the factory) helps to answer this question and others that follow. In most developing countries most women who work in export processing plants have been young and single. Is this true of the women in this study?

The next questions deal with women earning an income and bringing it home. Does a woman's income make a difference to power relations within the household? Women in the Philippines are perceived to have high status because they hold the purse strings in the family. If a woman holds the money in the household, does this mean that she has the power to dispose of it at will? Can this be equated with power? Or is the woman just the treasurer and does someone else dictate where the money goes? In trying to answer these questions, the study examines women's control over their income and analyses their contributions to the family economy.

When women work in modern industries they are often assigned to labour-intensive industries. A major aspect of the gender differentiation of the labour force available for employment in the world market is what is generally referred to in the literature as women's 'secondary status'. This study examines the work women and men were doing in the factory under study and how they were rewarded for this work. What was it like to work in a factory? What was it like to be a woman factory worker? Data about how women perceived the advantages and disadvantages of working and not working in the factory were obtained from interviews and their life histories.

The study also examines the relationship between a woman's income and the amount of domestic work she is expected to do. Some studies have indicated that, when women earn incomes, they are freed of domestic work. Was this true of the women factory and non-factory workers in Mauswagon? What were the perceived roles of men and women at home? What were the actual roles? Who was doing the various tasks at home and why? How was domestic work divided and what determined the tasks that women and

men performed? The concepts of women's and men's gender roles at work and in the home are the threads that tie together the questions posed in this dissertation.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study by presenting portraits of women in three different occupational categories; factory workers, non-factory workers and homemakers. Portraits written in narrative form introduce the issues with which the dissertation is concerned. Although the main interest in this study is the factory workers, a comparative approach is employed by including their non-factory peers. Men are also included in the study, since gender issues can only be explored by including both women and men. Chapter 1 also presents the research questions and objectives.

Chapter 2 outlines the conceptual map of the thesis, laying out the concepts and assumptions employed. It consists of a literature review and a description of the conceptual approach guiding the research. Chapter 3 describes the research area and the research process. Chapter 4 examines the factory women in the study area, according to their individual-level characteristics and compare them with other women.

Chapter 5 focuses upon factory women and their households. The working women's contribution from their wages to the family economy, either from the factory or from work outside the factory, is examined. Did earning an income make a difference to the women's lives?

Chapter 6 offers a view of the inner workings of the food-processing factory, the work the women and men did and the roles they played and were expected to perform. It portrays the daily lives of women working in the factory. Chapter 7 follows the women's lives beyond the factory gates to the home. It examines women's roles and work at home, and specifically seeks to answer the question: who does the housework at home?

The concluding chapter, Chapter 8, summarises the findings of this study and their implications. It reviews the answers provided to the questions raised in Chapter 1 and points out issues needing further research. Finally it summarises the contribution of the study to the understanding of women's and men's work, roles and gender relationships.

The composite case-studies of Minda, Rita and Linda in this Chapter have introduced the themes and sub-themes of the chapters that follow. Women's socio-demographic characteristics, family lives, working lives, and the monetary contributions of those working were described in the portraits. The next chapter explores the concepts used in the study.

2 Conceptualising Women's and Men's Gender Roles at Work and in the Home

I am Maria
taught to cook and wash
to be bought
not to remain
He is Pedro left to play
morning till noon
because he's a male
and would lose nothing
So what if I play
and Pedro is taught to cook and wash
please tell me
what would be lost.
'Bag-ong Tubo' (New Generation),
(Enario, 1992: 80)

'*Ang babaye alang unta sa panimalay* (A woman's place is supposed to be in the home),' asserted the husband of a factory worker in Mauswagon. This statement sums up the preference not only of Mauswagon men but perhaps also of other men in other areas of the Philippines as to women's work roles and workplace. The word *unta* which means 'supposed to/should be' serves to express an unfulfilled desire or the existence of some obstacle to the fulfilment of a preference, in this case, that women stay at home. The qualifier *unta* recognises that in real life a different pattern could be observed from that which was preferred because in fact women worked outside their homes. They did so for a variety of reasons. In Mauswagon, most women worked because they needed the money that they earned. However, some, especially those who had finished college, worked to achieve fulfilment in their jobs, to apply their training, to widen their horizons and circles of friends, gain experience, or to learn.

Is home the place for women? First, this chapter briefly reviews the historical account of women's and men's roles and the division of labour from the hunting and gathering

societies to the post-colonial period, particularly in Southeast Asia. After presenting the historical perspective, it proceeds to review the concepts of women's and men's gender roles at work and in the home by examining the concepts of work, roles and gender. From these general concepts, it narrows to focus specifically on Filipino perspectives on these issues.

Division of labour between women and men and their roles: A historical perspective

Leavitt (1971: 276) argued that the popular myth in patriarchal Western cultures that women had contributed little or nothing to the development of human society either because of childbirth which had limited their activities or their innate inferiority, had no substance. There was no separation between domestic and productive activities among populations in pre-industrial or in Third World societies. However, a marked change occurred during the development of modern industry as the workplace was separated from the home (Giddens, 1989: 169-170).

Women and men in traditional society lived as hunters and gatherers. Age and sex were the limited distinctions in the division of labour in hunting and gathering societies (Lenski, 1970: 170). Men hunted, while women gathered wild crops, cooked and brought up children. While women's work processes and the social relations attached to these processes may have been different from those of men, women were not necessarily inferior to men (Eviota, 1992: 5-6).

Among the !Kung, a hunting and gathering people in South West Africa, Draper (1975: 78) noted that women enjoyed a vast degree of autonomy and influence. This was the result of:

> . . . women's subsistence contribution and the control women retain over the food they have gathered; the requisites of foraging in the Kalahari which entail a similar degree of mobility for both sexes; the lack of rigidity in sex-typing of many adult activities, including domestic chores and aspects of child socialisation; the cultural sanction of aggression; the small group size; and, the nature of the settlement pattern (Draper, 1975: 78)

Draper's (1975) work suggest that women were not dependent on men for protection in their gathering range, since the men were out hunting. The flexibility of sex roles excluded women from joining men in hunting, as well as men removing the nasal

mucous from children's faces. However, as the !Kung settled in villages, women's autonomy and influence decreased due to factors such as:

> increasing rigidity in sex-typing of adult work; more permanent attachment to the individual of a particular place and group of people; dissimilar childhood socialisation for boys and girls; decrease in the mobility of women as contrasted with men; changing nature of women's subsistence contribution; . . . tendency for men to have greater access and control over such important resources as domestic animals, knowledge of Bantu language and culture, wage work; male entrance into village politics; settlement pattern; increasing household privacy (Draper, 1975: 78)

The origins of women's subjugation has been traced by productionists to sedentary agriculture, surplus production and the formation of social classes (Eviota, 1996: 6). Men no longer saw women as producers or gatherers of food. Women were perceived instead as producers of children, particularly sons; their productivity was now reduced to 'fertility' which was 'controlled by men' (Mies, 1986: 63).

Man's role as hunter was stressed in early studies by male anthropologists, to the exclusion of women. A male point of view typically gave male activities prominence and often took a male perspective as the only or important viewpoint (Eviota, 1992: vi). Since men brought home the meat for their dependents, they were associated with technology and providers of basic subsistence (Tanner and Zihlman, 1976: 608). The meat obtained from hunting was a prized commodity since it was scarce and not readily available in their day-to-day diet. However, Mies (1986: 58) posited that human productivity depended upon women's productivity not only because they were 'the producers of new men and women' but also because men could hunt only upon a 'developed female productivity'. Women provided the daily subsistence necessary for survival for the family, since hunting was considered as 'economy of risk'.

Mies' (1986) argument was supported by Goodale's (1971) study of Tiwi women:

> . . . the women not only could but did provide the major daily supply of a variety of food to members of their camp. . . . Men's hunting required considerable skill and strength, but the birds, bats, fish, crocodiles, dugongs and turtles they contributed to the household were luxury items rather than staples (Goodale, 1971: 169).

Lee's (1974) study of the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert in Africa showed that women's gathering activities contributed more than half of the total diet. Those women in traditional societies were active members who significantly contributed to in the subsistence of their clans or bands.

Division of labour between women and men in Southeast Asia

In pre-modern Southeast Asia, women had a relatively high degree of economic autonomy (Reid, 1988: 162). Women and men performed different functions, hence there were few instances where they took part in the same activities (Reid, 1988: 146). However, marketing was a woman's 'domain par excellence' (Reid, 1988: 163) since it was women's role to comprehend 'market forces, to drive hard bargains, and to conserve their capital (Reid, 1988: 172).

In more modern times, Southeast Asian women continued to retain a high degree of economic autonomy. In Soroako, a village in Sulawesi, Indonesia, both men and women in the peasant economy were partners in agricultural production (Robinson, 1988: 65). The sexual division of labour did not include men's control over women's productive activities. Malaysian women have played an important role in almost all areas of the economy and society (Ariffin,1992: xiii) and Malaysian women were also economically active (Lie and Lund, 1994: 11). However, despite women's contribution to the economic area, the political field was monopolised by men, and traditional Malay society maintained that a 'woman's place is at home' (Ariffin, 1992: 8).

The Philippines shared the Southeast Asian pattern of gender roles, with Filipina women also having a high level of economic autonomy. In pre-Spanish Philippines women in shifting agriculture, gathered root crops and fished together with men while men hunted and fished. In areas where wet-rice agriculture was practiced, women planted and harvested crops and performed other crop production tasks together with men while men cleared and ploughed the land and built walls around the field. Women did not depend upon men for their survival since they shared productive tasks with men; however, men did not equally share in women's domestic work (Eviota, 1992: 36).

At the end of the Spanish period women's and men's contributions could be summarised as follows:

> . . . economic development had contributed to the relegation of women's trading activities to the lower levels of the economic hierarchy. . . . Men were integrated into the modern sectors of the economy as heads of households, as farmers in cash-crop production, or as large-scale traders, while women together with children and the elderly, were left with household tasks and labour-intensive market work (Eviota, 1992: 61)

Colonialism in Southeast Asia brought with it 'western monopoly capitalism' (Ariffin, 1992: 10). The term 'production' in a capitalist society is associated only with economic activities that can be quantified in monetary terms as in the example of wages. Therefore, women's work was not valued although it was essential for household survival, and supported the colonial economy since it had not been monetised. The negative effects of colonialism on women and the infiltration of capitalism into subsistence economies were described by Boserup (1970). Only men were given rights to land because European administrators argued that cultivation was men's work. Thus women tended to be marginalised and their economic autonomy reduced.

In her analysis of the social origins of the sexual division of labour, Mies (1986: 47) argued that the question that needs to be asked is not: 'When did a division of labour between men and women arise?' but: 'What are the reasons why this division of labour became a relationship of dominance and exploitation, an asymmetric hierarchical relationship?'

Hartmann (1975: 454) offered some reasons why a decrease in woman's social status occurred with development and modernisation:

> . . . she loses control of subsistence through a change in production methods and devaluation of her share of the division of labour; . . .her work becomes private and family centred rather than social and kinfocused; and/or . . . some men assert their power through the state mechanism by elevating these subordinate men in their families, using the nuclear family against the kin group.

In the process, a more hierarchical division of labour between women and men was established and the man in the family maintained direct control over the women. The state and religion sustained this control. An almost universal characteristic of the division of labour is that women are accountable for most of the labour needed to 'reproduce healthy, active human life, on a daily and on a generational basis' (Kabeer, 1994: 28). The downgrading of this labour has powerful gender implications.

In summary, Mauswagon men's expectations that a woman's place is at home draws on a long history. With conquest, colonialism and modernisation, the role of a housewife became central to the Filipina's identity (Eviota, 1992: 169). However, the separation of domestic and paid work was based on the expectation that a man's earnings as the household head could provide for the household's economic needs. In Mauswagon, and perhaps the rest of the Philippines, that was not the case. Women needed to work and earn a living too.

Women and sociological theorising

Until very recently women have been shut out from the mainstream of sociological theorising (Alston, 1995: 12). Men were the recognised founders of sociology and none bestowed distinct attention on women's status in society or to questions of gender more generally (Giddens, 1992: 348). Among the forerunners of sociology, namely Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Marx and Weber, only Marx (1818-83) and Weber (1864-1920) have been considered to have had 'emancipated' views about women (Oakley, 1974: 21). Some writers (Banks, 1981; Baxter, 1992; Little, 1994) have claimed that even Marx and those that followed the Marxist tradition also failed to question the division of labour, or in general treated women's emancipation as a marginal concern. Weber was also criticised by Alston (1995: 13) for bringing out only those social processes and activities where women were involved at the periphery.

Structural functionalism dominated twentieth century sociological theorising, and Talcott Parsons, a functionalist, heavily influenced its direction. Parsons saw the woman's role in the family as 'expressive', bestowing warmth, security and emotional support, while he saw the man's role as 'instrumental', providing the economic support for the family (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 529). These two distinct roles prescribed by structural functionalism have been described 'as simply the stereotyped separation between women/home and men/work' (Oakley, 1974: 28). Thus, a clear separation between the public and private spheres developed in sociological thinking, with men the active participants in the public sphere and women relegated to the 'less important' tasks in the private sphere (Alston, 1995: 12). Parsons' ideas on the sex division of labour were drawn from Emile Durkheim, whose view on the origins of the division of labour was seen more as an 'ideology than a description of reality' (Solokoff, 1980: 16).

In the late 1960s and 1970s, there was a resurgence of Marxist ideas that could have helped to better explain the lives of women. However, as in Marxist ideology, women's problems were not addressed explicitly, and women's and men's exploitation was considered to come from the same source (Eisenstein, 1979: 11). A second wave of feminism was developed by some women who chose to break away from this gender-blind conception of women's problems. Although it drew heavily on Marxist concepts, the development of a feminist perspective in the 1970s and 1980s challenged women's invisibility in social and political theorising. Little (1994: 3-4) explained that a feminist perspective focused on the lives and experience of women as equal members of society and also challenged the assumption that men could be used as a standard in judging women's actions and problems. Feminists had initially started by trying to prove that there was no difference between being a man or a woman. However, Solokoff (1980: 16) noted that the feminist scholarship of the 1970s tried to illustrate the significance of 'sex role socialisation for the development of women's and men's capabilities in carrying out the tasks of our society'.

Defining work, roles and gender

Work, roles and gender are concepts that are very much interrelated. It is difficult to distinguish where one concept ends and the other begins. There seems to be a triple overlap. Linton (1936), in the most quoted definition of role, stated that 'role' is the dynamic aspect of status: where 'status' refers to position, 'role' refers to performance. Specifically, role is a cluster of expected behaviour patterns, obligations and privileges attached to a particular social status (Robertson, 1987: 91); expectations are culturally and socially defined and an individual is 'pressured, rewarded, and punished' to adopt certain roles and not others (Chafetz, 1974: 1).

Broadly defined, work is an expenditure of effort or energy that yields services and products of value to other people (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984: 2; Whip and Lupton, 1992: 172). Work is a fundamental life role with the ability to affect major aspects of a person's personality, and it is also used as a measure of a person's standing in society. To be out of paid work is often equivalent to having no status at all, except where the person concerned is independently wealthy. People's lives depend on work and the kind of work they do determines how much they earn (Probert, 1989: 1, 2). Since women are largely responsible for domestic work and are not paid for most of it, 'work has

come to be seen as something that men do'. Since women are absent from what is socially defined as 'real work', they are almost automatically relegated to lower social status (Probert, 1989: 2). Homemakers who kept house and took care of their husbands and children in Mauswagon answered 'I'm not doing anything' or 'I'm just a housewife' when asked what their work was (Chapter 7). However, as they recounted the activities they performed every day, the variety of their activities was revealed, and they often found it necessary to qualify their previous answer that they 'did not do anything'. The stigma associated with being out of paid work is greater for men than for women because of the role expectations that men are breadwinners and women are homemakers. The importance of work is summed up in Probert's (1989: 3) words:

> ...work is good for your soul or your hip pocket. There is something immoral in many people's eyes about not having a job. ...the importance of work lies not in the activity itself but in the cultural meanings we attach to it...

The terms 'sex' and 'gender' are often confused. However, 'sex' has come to mean the biologically determined features that make people male or female, while 'gender' has come to mean the socio-culturally constructed expectations attached to each sex (Chafetz, 1990: 28; Whip and Lupton, 1992: 172). Work can be a socio-cultural manifestation of men's and women's roles. In most societies, for example, men work for pay in fulfilment of the breadwinner role, while women attend to child care and domestic work, often in addition to work outside the home, in fulfilment of their nurturer and homemaker roles.

The ties of role and gender can be traced in Lorber's (1994: 14) claim that the 'building blocks of gender are socially constructed statuses'. Ties between work and gender have been articulated by Game and Pringle (1983: 14): 'gender is fundamental to the way work is organised; and work is central to the construction of gender'. Hence work, roles and gender are interwoven. The following discussions will consider the inter-relationships among these concepts.

Focus on women and men as workers

The gendered structure of work in modern societies (Lorber, 1994: 172) has typically categorised women's and men's roles in the economy (Bergmann, 1987: 131). In this sense, the clearly 'gendered' labour market (Little, 1994: 106) has an enormous influence on the lives of both women and men in society - how much power and

prestige they can acquire, the prospects of developing and expressing any talent they possess, with whom they will spend their time, their chances of having challenging and creative work, and the likelihood that they will experience hardships in the course of their lifetimes. Work has been seen as either women's or men's, requiring qualities that are considered distinct for each sex. In terms of prestige, men's work is usually valued more highly than women's. Tasks that are usually performed by women are often perceived as simple or not burdensome, while those most often performed by men are acknowledged as difficult (Mencher, 1988: 104).

Why is men's work generally more valued than women's? Traditional beliefs about gender and work have affected how women's and men's work are perceived. The ideology of femininity describes women in terms of their position as housewives and mothers, while the ideology of masculinity describes men as breadwinners (Baxter et al., 1990: 38). The distinction between women's and men's work in the paid and unpaid spheres has generated effects disadvantageous to women. Men have been associated with the public sphere, and the financial and economic world, while women have been associated with the private sphere and the domestic world (Whip and Lupton, 1992: 177). This association has taken root despite the fact that many women are in paid work, because even when women join the labour force, domestic tasks remain in their hands. Sinclair (1991: 1) noted that women and men join the paid workforce on a very different basis, and such distinctions have resulted in lower pay and inferior working situations for women.

Crompton and Sanderson (1990: 36) identified sex-typing and statistical discrimination as material manifestations of traditional assumptions about women's and men's work. Sex-typing is made visible in 'horizontal and vertical segregation by recruitment - men apply and train for men's jobs, women for women's' while statistical discrimination is manifested when employers assume that because of women's feminine qualities and other roles all women will be unreliable and tardy workers. Unfortunately, what is labelled as women's and men's work

> has a sense of normality and naturalness, an almost moral quality, even though the justification for such typification is usually an after-the-fact rationalisation (Lorber, 1994: 198).

Focus on the lives of women as workers

Stromberg and Harkess (1978: ix) observed that until the late 1970s sociological studies of work devoted little attention to women. Since then, sociologists and economists have started to pay more attention to women's work roles in paid work in the marketplace and unpaid work at home due partly to the growth in the numbers of women who work outside the home. Their economic contributions and experiences can no longer be overlooked. However, even although women have increasingly assumed two recognised roles, one at home and the other at work, domestic activity continues to be perceived as a natural part of being a woman and any other work women undertake is seen as an additional job (Sharpe, 1992: 56). Alston (1995: 6) appropriately described the situation: 'women are not confined at home, they are merely constrained by such an ideology.' As an illustration, young women in the 1990s in Japan who anticipated working for an extended period in their lives still considered market work as secondary to women's primary role of taking care of their husbands and children (Cordilia and Ohta, 1992: 205). Similarly, while women in Laos in the late 1980s were aware of their roles as productive workers, they still considered being wives and mothers as their primary function (Shui Meng, 1988: 65). Women's place is still perceived to be at home, even if few women spend all their lives there.

Women's families and their domestic roles influenced women's workforce participation, while women's paid work affects women's roles within the family (Zavella, 1987: 2). Pleck (1984: 16) has suggested that women's work and family are really two worlds in one. While women are trying to maintain the balance between their paid and unpaid work roles, there is a need to take a closer look at what women's work is. Alston (1995: 5) claimed that accepted definitions of work are biased against women. Much of women's work remains unacknowledged and undervalued. As the market economy came to define work, women's unwaged work became re-categorised as non-productive or reproductive rather than productive. As a result, women were torn between remaining at home, 'doing what "good women" did' or working for pay 'doing what "good people" did' (Johnson, 1992: 5).

The household and child care tasks performed by women are seen as an extension of their physical make-up, since 'nature' bestowed upon them the capability of bearing children (Mies, 1982: 2). However, when production moved outside the home into

factories, women were often chosen as the most suitable candidates for employment because the skills they used at home were the same skills necessary in the textile, food, and related industries. Employers regard women's skills, for example being 'nimble fingered', as part of women's nature. However, Elson and Pearson (1981: 93) disputed the 'women's nature' explanation, arguing that women's skills are not inherited from their mothers but are the result of the training they received as they were socialised into what is regarded as the 'appropriate women's role'. These skills are classified as unskilled or semi-skilled because of the social invisibility of the training women undergo to produce these skills. It is the inadequate social recognition of these skills that causes them to be attributed to 'nature'. The non-recognition of these skills is 'intrinsic to the process of gender construction in the world today and in the subordination of women as a gender'(Whitehead, 1979: 12).

Women's and men's work and roles and gender: The Philippine perspectives

Role expectations in society

According to Eviota (1986: 194), by the role expectations culturally defined in Philippine society, the Filipino wife or mother is expected to be the carer in the household, while the Filipino husband or father is expected to be the provider of material needs as head of household. Following the traditional gender division of labour, men are usually expected to be the breadwinners while women are the homemakers. Hence, 'women's work' is done for and in the home, while 'men's work' is performed outside. Women undertake these roles by utilising the resources provided by the men. Since women's work is consigned to the domestic sphere, it has not been considered as productive in economic statistics; only paid work or profit-earning activity is recognised as 'economic' or 'productive' (Illo, 1995: 209).

In the Philippines, gender roles arise from a gender division of labour in which market activities are associated with men while domestic and reproductive activities are associated with women. However, many women are also economically active, and thus more often than not Filipino women are laden with multiple roles. Women in the Philippines have been effectively barred from access to a number of society's most strategic economic, political, and socio-cultural resources because of the domestic roles

they play (Torres and del Rosario, 1994: 70). Torres and del Rosario (1994: 8-9,13), National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the National Statistics Office (NSO), and NCRFW (1995: 46) have documented the following:

- The number of women and men in the population is almost equal but women are greatly outnumbered by men in the officially recorded labour force.
- In administrative, executive and managerial positions, there is only one female for every three males.
- Women are usually not represented in formal community leadership structures because the real value of their social development has not been recognised, or they do not have enough time to attend meetings, which are typically scheduled when they are occupied.
- Only four out of the 24 seats in the Senate and 21 seats out of 191 in the lower house were occupied by women in 1993.
- Only one woman is a justice of the 15-member Supreme Court.
- Women comprised only 14.7 per cent of the 1,646 judges in various courts in 1995.

In the Philippines, women's motivation to work has been related to the traditional view of women's role. A survey conducted by the Social Research Laboratory, University of the Philippines, in the late 1970s revealed strong support by both women and men for the value statement: 'If a man can afford it, he should not allow his wife to work.' The same survey disclosed that financial necessity was the main reason given why, in fact, many women worked; both husband and wife generally endorsed the dictum that 'the wife is for the home.' However, some Filipina wives did join the paid workforce in spite of their husbands' objections. As family 'treasurers' they were aware of the financial needs of the family and recognised that their husbands' income alone would not be able to meet all the needs. Despite the double burden, these married women had to maintain harmony between their home and work roles in order to stay in the labour force (Sevilla, 1995: 48). They had to see to it that their domestic work was not neglected.

Thus women continue to take charge of the housekeeping role in the Philippines, although they have joined the labour force in large numbers. Wives had to hurry home to their husbands as soon as their paid job was over to assume their other role as wives and mothers (Rojas-Aleta et al., 1977: 147). Many studies (Pineda, 1981; Contado, 1981; Sevilla, 1982; Castillo, 1979; Miralao, 1980; Gonzales and Hollnsteiner, 1976; Licuanan and Gonzales, 1976; Martinez-Esquillo, 1975) show that women's roles in the

Philippines are defined in the private sphere and in traditionally feminine tasks such as sewing, washing and ironing clothes, dishwashing, and budgeting the household income. Men's roles are focused on traditionally masculine tasks such as repairing equipment, chopping and gathering firewood, and fetching water. Licuanan (1987: 191) noted that men generally spent most of their time in income-generating activities, leisure, and community involvement while women spent the greater portion of their time in home management.

Licuanan (1987: 158) summarised in table form the perceived roles of a woman and a man and the role descriptions of a wife and mother and a husband and father (Table 2.1). These perceived roles are drawn from the works of Mendez and Jocano (1974), Bulatao (1968), Lynch and Makil (1968), Licuanan and Gonzales (1976), and Castillo (1976). The list shows the differences between the perceived qualities of women and men, and suggests that more has been expected of a woman than of a man.

The perceived roles and role expectations of women and men in Table 2.1 represent the views of the 1960s and 1970s and have been undergoing gradual change. In the 1990s, some of the qualities listed reflected the ideals but not the reality. Filipino women are no longer confined to their homes. For example, the proportion of women officially recorded as economically inactive has been decreasing, from 59.6 per cent in 1975 to 52.5 per cent in 1990 (NSO and NCRFW, 1992: 76). More women have joined the paid workforce. NSO and NCRFW (1992: 8) have also noted that the marriage rate declined from 7.3 marriages per thousand population in 1980 to 6.6 in 1990, suggesting that the importance of women's role as wife may also be declining. The decreasing marriage rate may be due to marriage postponement or an increasing number of couples living together as husband and wife without formal marriage as evidenced by the increasing proportion of illegitimate births (NSO and NCRFW, 1992: 21).

Table 2.1. Role perceptions and expected qualities of the Filipino woman and man.

Perceived roles and qualities	
woman	**man**
desires to get married and have children	ambitious and determined
loving, caring, beautiful and seductive without being seduced	socialiser and participates in community affairs
her place is at home	innately weak in matters concerning morals
duty is to uphold the moral code	has vices (activities such as gambling, smoking, drinking, and indulging in extra-marital affair)
faithful and religious	
hardworking and diligent housekeeper	
keeps the family close together	
virgin before marriage	

Perceived roles and qualities	
wife	**husband**
loyal and devoted to her husband	symbol of authority
priority for family concerns and responsibilities	has the final decision
dependent on husband's final decision	good provider
undemanding and patient	protects his wife
endures husband's bad habits and represents him before God	spends time with children

Source: Licuanan (1987: 158)

Despite these changes, some role expectations are deeply ingrained, particularly that which specifies that a 'woman's place is at home.' Although many women work outside their homes in the 1990s, both women and men still consider that domestic responsibilities are women's primary concern and paid-work responsibilities come second. Women's and men's roles in the Philippines have been summed up by Medina:

> despite changes taking place in Philippine society, husband and wife role expectations have remained basically the same as in previous generations. The traditional segregation of roles where the husband is the breadwinner and the wife the homemaker is still the ideal (Medina, 1991: 131).

Gender identity and power relations

The poem by Ruby Enario that introduced this chapter captures the way in which girls and boys are socialised and trained in relation to housework in the Philippines. Early socialisation greatly affects gender identity and power relations in later years. In this study, an example of the different training in housework given to boys and girls is illustrated in Chapter 6. The findings in this study support the results of a *Bantigue* (a coastal village in Southern Luzon, Philippines) study and others in the Philippines reviewed by Illo (1995: 222) which indicated that, from an early age, girls are trained at home by their mothers and in school by their teachers to be home managers, housekeepers, and housewives.

Such training prepares girls to become married women who will have their own houses, husbands and children to take care of. Femininity among women is equated with nurturing and mothering roles, while masculinity is associated with being economic providers, subduing women and fathering children (Ramirez, 1984: 32). In a fishing and farming town in Laguna province, Israel-Sobritchea (1991: 100) listed the physical attributes she found that the people regarded as ideal for a feminine person: *mas mahina* (weaker), *mas maliit* (shorter), and *mas maliit ang katawan* (smaller in body stature). Women who looked like a male in physical appearance were perceived negatively. These physical characteristics re-inforce prevailing cultural traditions that dictate that women perform only 'light work' and 'less risky' occupations (Israel-Sobritchea, 1990: 12). This list conformed with the attributes discussed later in Chapter 6 that were used by management to explain why jobs in the factory in Mauswagon were divided into women's and men's work. Jimenez (1983 in Torres and del Rosario, 1994: 10) focused on traits rather than physical attributes, taking the Philippine culture as a whole: to be masculine is to be strong, aggressive, determined and persevering, while to be feminine is to be modest, understanding, loving and affectionate.

In the late 1970s Rojas-Aleta et al. (1977) reported a common view that, compared with other women in Asia, Filipino women seem to have better opportunities and positions.

Eviota (1978) refuted this perception, claiming instead that bias against women restricted their opportunities in Philippine society. In a more recent work, Eviota (1991: 157) noted the social visibility of Filipino women, but argued that it would be erroneous to assume that this visibility is an indicator of high status:

> ...if Filipino women's status is to be assessed in a meaningful way, it should be assessed within the society relative to the status of Filipino men (Eviota, 1991: 157).

Pertierra (1991: 194) pointed out that, notwithstanding the independence that women exert in certain areas, such as religion and the economy, Filipinos usually acknowledge that the primary orientation of women is domestic matters.

Being the manager of the family budget has been identified as the main source of the Filipino woman's power and influence (Makil, 1995: 145). Filipino husbands typically turn over their earnings to their wives and receive, in return, an allowance for their daily expenses. This phenomenon in Mauswagon is discussed in Chapter 5. However, not all women who hold the household money are empowered to make decisions about how it will be spent. Women in low-income households have no real power to decide where the household money should go because it is fully committed to meeting the household's basic needs. Being responsible for household finances can actually be a burden. Budgeting and stretching the peso to cover the needs of the family are women's problems (Sevilla, 1995: 45), while men's obligation is simply to turn over the money (Mendez and Jocano, 1974: 270; Licuanan and Gonzales, 1976 in Makil, 1995: 145). While working women in a rainfed farming area in Cabahaan spent almost all their income on household needs, working men kept a portion of their earnings for their personal needs and activities such as drinking, smoking and gambling (Illo and Lee, 1991: 70). For the Filipina, there was no boundary between her own needs and those of her family since her family's needs were her own (Sevilla, 1995: 41; Eviota, 1995: 133).

A study in two agrarian communities in the Philippines in the late 1980s showed that women participated in the decision-making process in the home by holding the purse strings and in some cases negotiating the prices of commodities. With few exceptions, women also carried the burden of making up any shortfall in cash through loans or credit, and bore the primary responsibility for securing the means to meet household subsistence (Banzon-Bautista, 1995: 76). Women's role as the family treasurer cannot

be automatically equated with power. Keeping money is a source of status only when it is accompanied by the power to make important decisions on money-related matters and when the money involved is sufficient to allow choices in how it will be allocated.

Partly as a result of women's role as financial manager, decision-making patterns in Filipino families have been characterised as egalitarian rather than patriarchal (Sevilla, 1995: 45). However, this classification requires closer examination of the areas in which women and men make decisions, since husbands are also perceived as making the 'more important' decisions related to economic security (Sevilla, 1995: 52). The wife is typically identified as the major decision-maker in matters pertaining to household management, including family budgeting, childcare and training. These areas are considered to be female concerns, but even here it is the husband who makes the final decisions, by which the wife and children have to abide (Sevilla, 1995: 52).

Conclusion

The preceding discussion provides an historical perspective on women's and men's role in relation to the division of labour between them. It has also presented a broad outline of the concepts used in the succeeding chapters of this thesis. It has examined inter-relationships among the concepts of women's and men's work and roles and gender, since these are the threads that link the themes of this thesis. As the characteristics of the women factory workers in the study are examined in comparison with their non-factory peers, and as the women are followed from their place of work and to their homes after their work, these inter-relationships will be further explored.

This chapter also indicates that interest in women is a recent phenomenon in sociological theorising, and the emergence of feminist theory has given new significance to the lives and work of women. A women-centred focus has been adopted in this work, but the gender dimension ensures that the men are not forgotten. The next chapter will describe the research methodology used to examine the concepts of roles, work and gender in the lives of factory women, their non-factory counterparts, homemakers and the men in their lives.

3 The Research Area and the Research Process

...It may be that in seeing the colour of the rose, we are only partly in touch with the world and partly in touch with some aspects of our minds. In exchange, then, for this widening gap between ourselves and what is out there, we would gain a new connection to the world - to that part of it occupied by us. (Gold, 1995: 6).

One of my most unforgettable experiences was the breath-taking aerial view of Cagayan de Oro City and Northern Mindanao during my first plane ride many years ago. I had a good view of the fine deep-water harbour of Macajalar Bay surrounded by cloud-covered mountain peaks. Some mountains and plateaus were forested, some pastured, some planted with small patches of food crops, and others with contoured rows of pineapples. At the periphery, smoke billowing from factory chimneys provided a sharp contrast with the natural scene.

Little did I know then that the pineapple-processing plant from which that smoke billowed would form the focal point of the research area for my PhD thesis. The perspective of this study is not from the air but from the ground, gained from a one-year period of field work in the village where the plant is located. The research focuses on the women who worked there. I have compared the lives and situations of women who were factory workers with women working but not in the factory and women who were homemakers and not employed outside their homes. Before I discuss what I learned from the lives, households, and families of the women I studied, a closer look at nearby Cagayan de Oro City and the village where the research was conducted will provide the context for the study.

This chapter describes the research area, Cagayan de Oro City and the village itself, my research methods, research design, criteria for site selection, sample selection for both qualitative and quantitative approaches, data collection, and processing. In short, this chapter presents the blueprint which guided me into the village and factory, the families, and the lives of the women I studied.

Cagayan de Oro City: A closer look

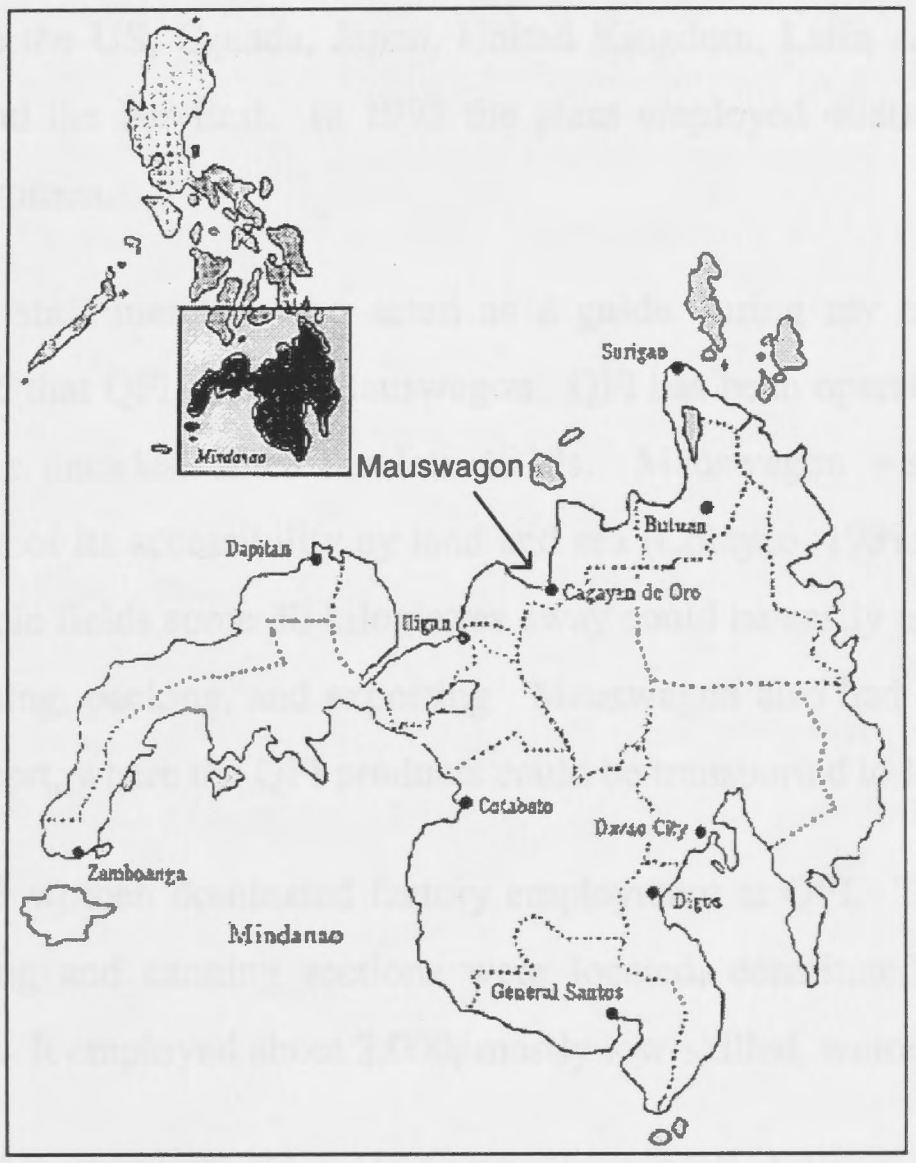
Cagayan de Oro City is the capital of Misamis Oriental Province. It is the gateway to the Northern Mindanao region and the entry point to the South. Mindanao is the second largest island (489 square kilometres) in the Philippine archipelago, lying north east of Borneo in the southern Philippines (Figure 3.1). Between 1970 and 1980, the population of the city grew at an average of 5.9 per cent annually, declining to 4 per cent annually between 1980 and 1990 (computed from National Statistics Office (NSO), 1992: 1). In 1990, the population of the city was 340,000, (NSO, 1992: 1), representing 9.7 per cent of the total population of Northern Mindanao and the largest among the seven cities of the region.

Cagayan de Oro not only serves as the regional seat of government but also as the regional growth centre. A study conducted in the mid-1980s reported that many manufacturing plants were located in or near the city, attracted chiefly by the availability of cheap electrical power from a nearby hydro-electric generating station (Costello and Palabrica-Costello, 1984: 19). A 1989 survey by the Department of Trade and Industry, Region 10, revealed that 5,244 firms, representing 14 per cent of the total business establishments in Northern Mindanao and 9 per cent of manufacturing, were located in Cagayan de Oro City (City Planning and Development Office (CPDO), National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), n.d.: 1). Most were engaged in food-processing, furniture making, or metal work.

With access to cheap power, a strategic location, and the rich agricultural and mineral resources of the South, Cagayan de Oro and two other cities (Iligan and General Santos) have been identified as the Philippine southern industrial core. Cagayan de Oro City accommodates heavy and light industries, as well as small- and medium-scale industries producing a variety of intermediate and consumption goods. The major industries in the

city in 1993 were: Del Monte Philippines Incorporated, the Catimco Group, Lim KetKai and Sons, Coca-Cola Bottlers Philippines Incorporated, Nestle Philippines, the Magnolia Corporation, the Cagayan de Oro Oil Company, and Pepsi Cola Philippines Incorporated. Cagayan de Oro City also boasts a fine deep-water harbour, the most modern public harbour in Mindanao, which can accommodate domestic and international vessels of virtually any capacity and enables industries in Cagayan de Oro City to easily transport their products to local and foreign markets.

Figure 3.1. Map of the Philippines indicating the study area



Source: Modified from Bouis and Haddad (1990: xv).

Why choose Mauswagon?

The research area for this study is a village that I will call Mauswagon. It is one of the *barangay* (villages) within Cagayan de Oro City and approximately 14 kilometres from the city centre. In 1990, the population of Mauswagon was around 12,000 (NSO, 1992: 2), ranking 10th in population size among the 82 villages within Cagayan de Oro City. Using the concrete and asphalt-paved road network connecting Cagayan de Oro City with neighbouring villages, cities and provinces, it took only 30 minutes (except in traffic jams), to reach Mauswagon by passenger *jeepney*. However, in 1993, with traffic

jams and stops to pick up and wait for passengers, it was usually an hour or more before a *jeepney* from the centre of Cagayan de Oro City reached Mauswagon.

My main consideration for selecting Mauswagon village as the research area was the presence of a large food-processing plant in the area. The plant was owned by a well-known multinational corporation, which will be known for the purpose of this study as *Quality Foods Incorporated* (*QFI*). The plant was built in the mid-1930s to can pineapples. In 1993, the company was engaged in growing and processing pineapple and tomato products, and other fruits and vegetables. Its principal export markets include the US, Canada, Japan, United Kingdom, Latin America, Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. In 1993 the plant employed 4080 workers, more than half of them women.

A QFI staff member who acted as a guide during my tour of the processing plant claimed that QFI created Mauswagon. QFI has been operating in Mauswagon for more than six decades, since the late 1920s. Mauswagon was chosen as a cannery site because of its accessibility by land and sea (Colayco, 1987: 20). The harvest from the pineapple fields some 30 kilometres away could be easily transported to the cannery for processing, packing, and exporting. Mauswagon also had access to an excellent deep-water port, where the QFI products could be transported to local and foreign markets.

In 1993 women dominated factory employment at QFI. The packing table, where the trimming and canning sections were located, constituted the largest section of the factory. It employed about 2,000, mostly low-skilled, women.

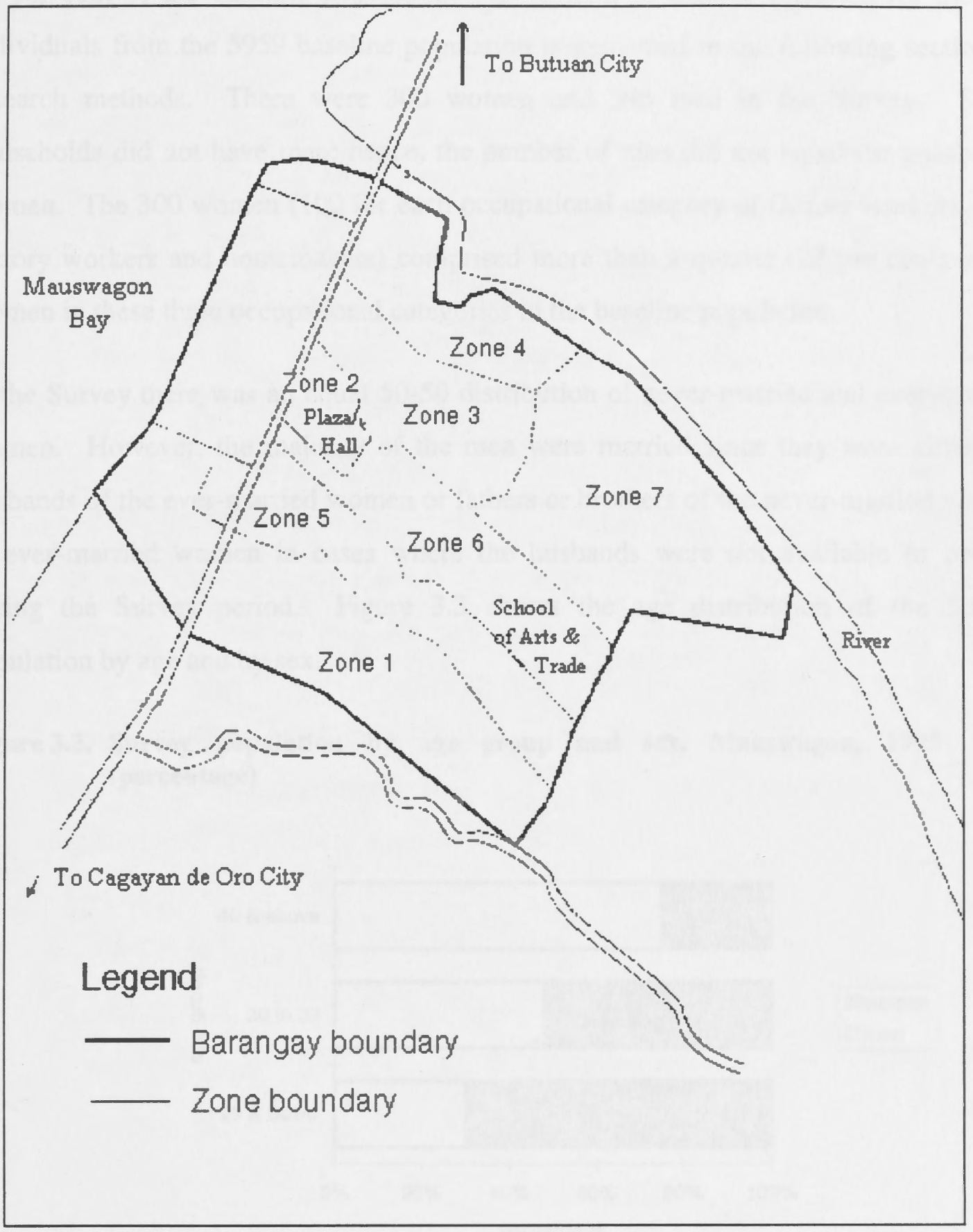
Since this study adopts a comparative approach, I chose the sample from the village where the factory was located, rather than selecting the sample from the factory itself. In that way I was able to obtain samples of factory workers, homemakers and women working outside the factory, as well as male adults who were members of the women's households. The following section describes the study population.

Characteristics of the women and men in the population and in the Survey

The 1993 Baseline Study I conducted covered five out of the seven zones in Mauswagon (Fig. 3.2). A total of 1,050 households were enumerated, containing a total of 5,959 individuals. In the following discussion I will be referring to the '1993 Baseline Study' as 'Baseline Study' and the 'population of the Baseline Study' as the 'baseline population'. Hilly portions of Zones 5 and 6 were excluded, as well as the whole of Zones 1 and 7. Zone 7 was densely populated since it covered a housing subdivision, but it was a 30-minute ride by *jeepney* to reach Zone 7 from the centre of the village. Zone 1 was also densely populated and covered hilly areas. These zones were excluded on the ground of convenience and logistics. I estimated that I would obtain the desired number of respondents from five zones.

The socio-demographic variables gathered during the Baseline Study included age, sex, marital status, residence five years ago, highest educational attainment and occupation. From the Baseline Study, samples of never-married and ever-married women working in the factory, working outside the factory, and homemakers, all aged between 15 and 49, were randomly selected. The 1990 Census of Population and Housing (NSO, 1992: 2) had reported a population of 12,231 in Mauswagon, an increase of 17 per cent over the figure of 10,447 for the 1980 Census of Population and Housing (NSO, 1992: 2) for Mauswagon. Thus the population covered in the 1993 Baseline Study was equivalent to almost half of the 1990 population.

Figure 3.2. Map of Mauswagon indicating its seven zones



Source: Cagayan de Oro City Planning and Development Office, n.d.

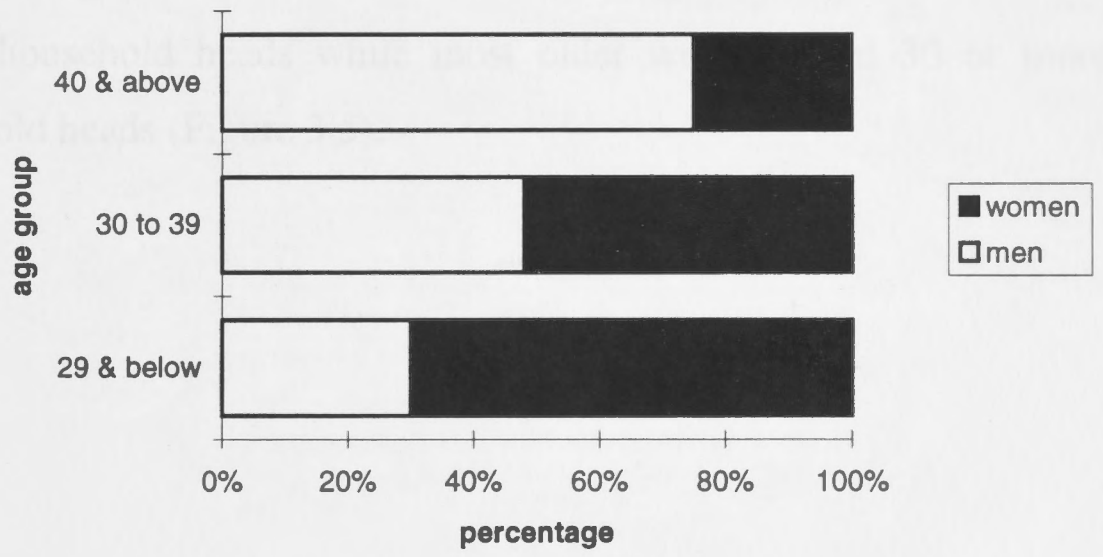
Of the 5,959 persons in the baseline population, 3,051 were women and 2,908 were men, a sex ratio of 104.5 females for every 100 males. Ever-married persons accounted for 57 per cent of the Mauswagon population 15 years old and over. From the baseline population 3,870 persons were aged 15 years old or over; 2,027 were women and 1,843 were men, a sex ratio of 109.9 females for every 100 males.

The Baseline Study was the basis for selecting the sample for the Status of the Women Survey I conducted. In the following discussion I will refer to the 'Status of Women

Survey' I conducted as 'the Survey'. The Survey covered 593 women and men, about 10 per cent of the baseline population. The method of sample selection for the 593 individuals from the 5959 baseline population is explained in the following section on research methods. There were 300 women and 293 men in the Survey. Seven households did not have men; hence, the number of men did not equal the number of women. The 300 women (100 for each occupational category of factory workers, non-factory workers and homemakers) comprised more than a quarter (27 per cent) of the women in these three occupational categories in the baseline population.

In the Survey there was an equal 50-50 distribution of never-married and ever-married women. However, the majority of the men were married since they were either the husbands of the ever-married women or fathers or brothers of the never-married women or ever-married women in cases where the husbands were not available or present during the Survey period. Figure 3.3 shows the age distribution of the Survey population by age and by sex.

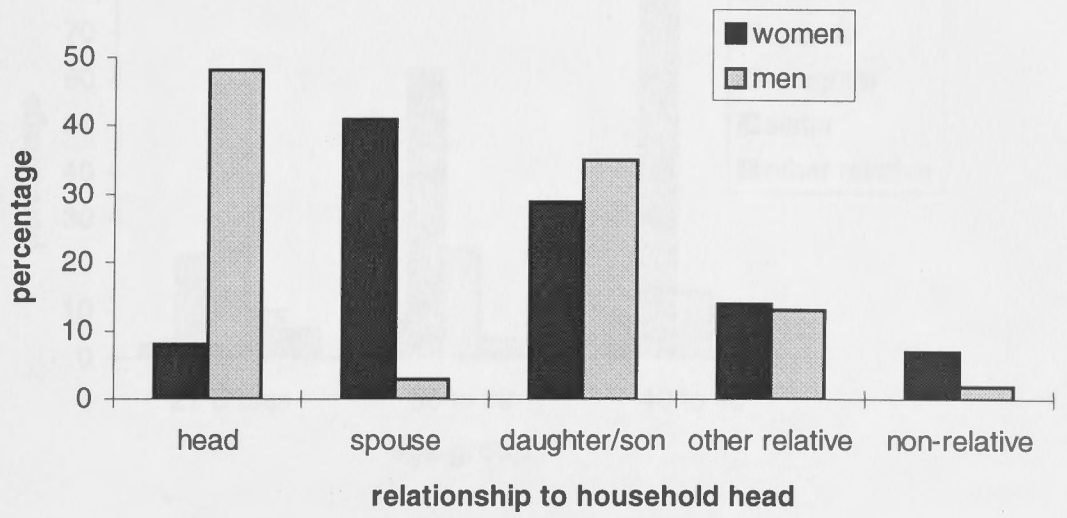
Figure 3.3. Survey population by age group and sex, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 3.1, menwomen.sys, menwomen.sps, survchar.xls.

Households in Mauswagon were usually headed by men. In the Baseline Study, most household heads were men. Most women identified themselves as spouses or daughters of the household head (Figure 3.4).

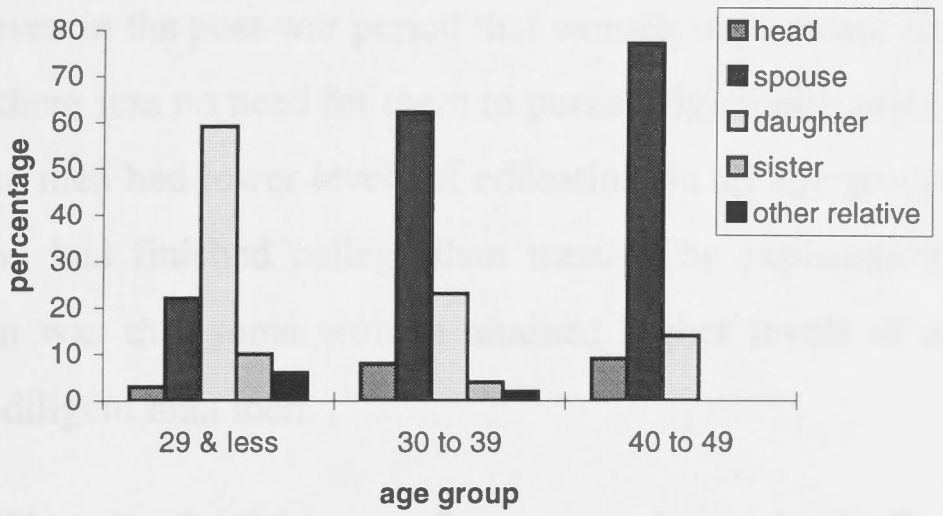
Figure 3.4. Relationship of household members 15 years old and over to household head by sex, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 3.2, cbocupr1.sys, occup15b.sps, m-wchar.xls.

There were more younger women than men in the Survey. This was largely due to sampling, since women aged 50 and above were excluded from the sample while some men aged 50 and above were included. This was because some men in the sample were the fathers of the women in the study, and because most women married men older than themselves. More than half of the women were aged 29 years or younger while almost half of the men were aged 40 or more. Most women aged 29 or less were reported as daughters of the household heads while most older women aged 30 or more were spouses of household heads (Figure 3.5).

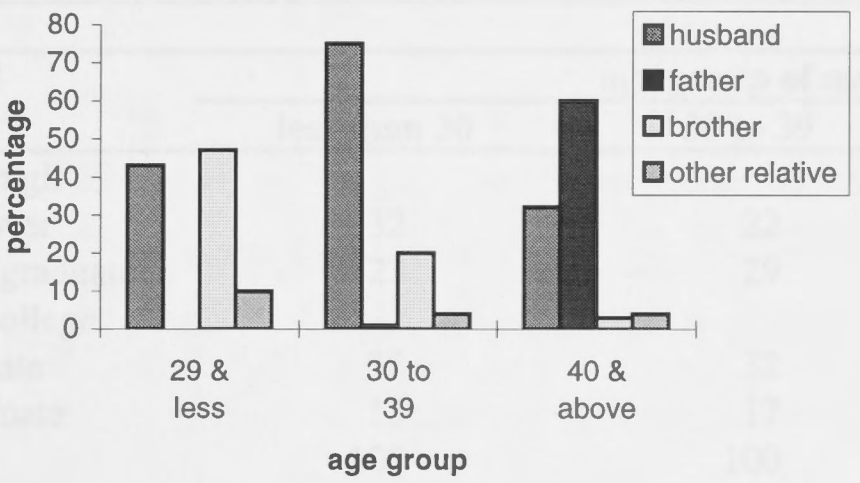
Figure 3.5. Relationship of women in the Survey to the household head by age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 3.3, menwomen.sys, menwomen.sps, survchar.xls.

Younger men in the 29 or less age group were either husbands or brothers of the women interviewed (Figure 3.6). Men in the 30 to 39 age group were usually husbands, while those in the 40 and above age group were usually fathers of the women interviewed.

Figure 3.6. Relationship of men in the Survey to the women interviewed by age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 3.4, menoccup.sys, men3cat.sps, survchar.xls.

In the Baseline Study, women in their 30s had attained a higher level of education than those who were younger (less than 30) and older (40 and above). This was because those who were under 30 years old included girls who were still in high school, producing a truncation effect, while those in the 40 and above age group included older women who had not pursued high levels of education due to the limited coverage of the education system at that time. A similar trend could be observed among the men in the 30 to 39 age group, who had a higher level of education than younger or older men.

However, more older women than men had only incomplete high school or lower levels of education. This could be attributed to the thinking in the pre-war (World War II) years and even in the post-war period that women were meant to marry and keep house, and hence there was no need for them to pursue higher education. Although more older women than men had lower levels of education, in all age groups there were also more women who had finished college than men. The explanation given among men in Mauswagon was that some women attained higher levels of education because they were more diligent than men.

Table 3.1. Educational attainment of women and men in the Baseline Study by age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

educational attainment	age group of women		
	less than 30	30 to 39	40 to 49
incomplete high school or lower	29	16	43
high school graduate	26	36	29
vocational/college under-graduate	29	26	13
college graduate	16	22	15
total	100	100	100
number	982	437	599
overall n = 2018			

educational attainment	age group of men		
	less than 30	30 to 39	40 to 49
incomplete high school or lower	32	22	34
high school graduate	23	29	27
vocational/college under-graduate	32	32	24
college graduate	13	17	15
total	100	100	100
number	914	386	541
overall n = 1841			

Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 3.2, cbocupr1.sys, occup15b.sps.

On average, women had more years of schooling than men in the Survey (Table 3.2). More than one-third of the women had finished college. Almost half of the men in the 29 or less age group had vocational or college undergraduate level education. Older men aged 40 or more had the least years of schooling.

Table 3.2. Educational attainment of women and men in the Survey by age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

educational attainment	age group of women		
	less than 30	30 to 39	40 to 49
incomplete high school or lower	7	10	14
high school graduate	24	29	27
vocational/college under-graduate	33	24	23
college graduate	36	37	36
total	100	100	100
number	166	90	44
overall n=300			

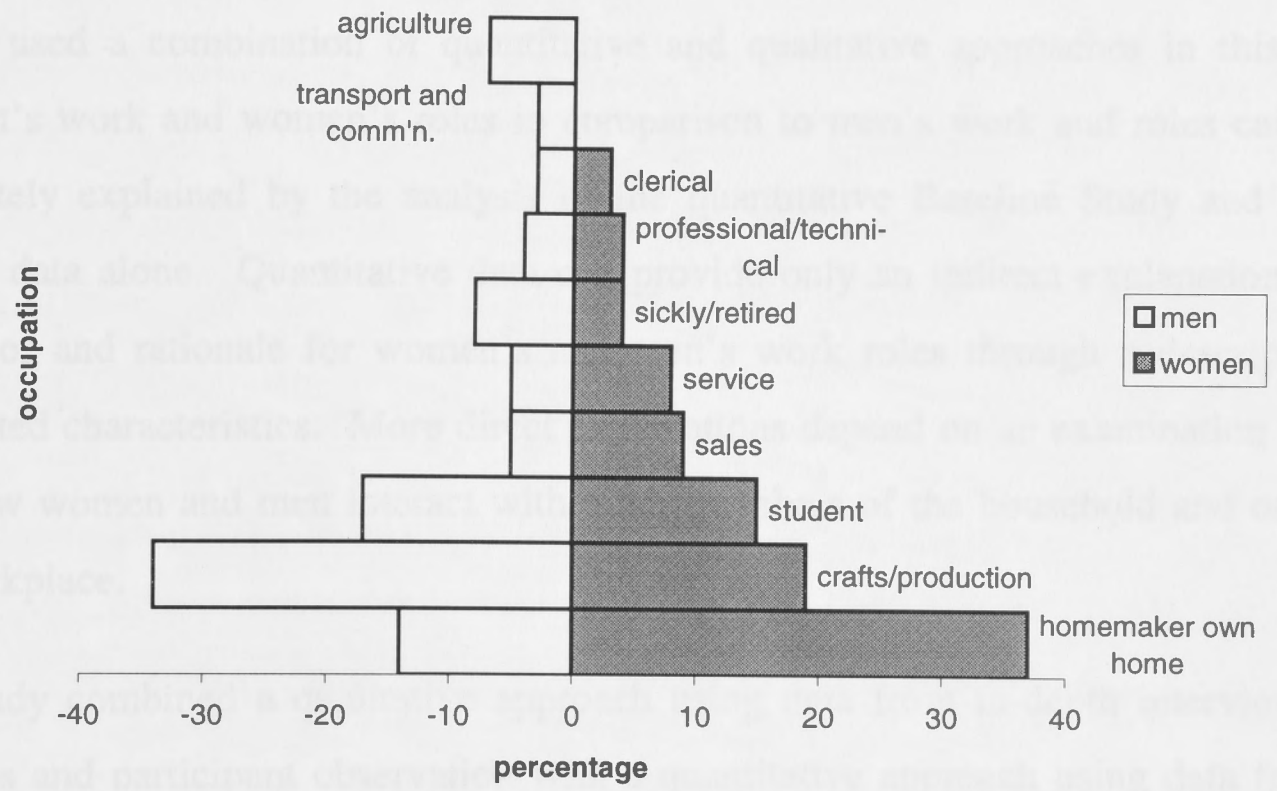
educational attainment	age group of men		
	less than 30	30 to 39	40 to 49
incomplete high school or lower	17	21	30
high school graduate	24	30	30
vocational/college under-graduate	46	33	22
college graduate	14	16	17
total	100	100	100
number	72	82	138
overall n=292			

Note: Totals may not add to a 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, menoccup.sys, men3cat.sps.

More than one-third of the women in the Mauswagon baseline population aged 15 years and over were homemakers in their own homes, but less than 15 per cent of the men were reported as homemakers. A third of the men were craftspersons, production and processing workers, but only almost one-fifth of the women were engaged in these occupations. Men and women factory workers were classified as crafts, production and process workers. Only one or two women were engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fishing or in transport and communication. More men than women were engaged in crafts, production and processing, agriculture and forestry, and transport and communication. More women than men were engaged in clerical and related work, sales work, housekeeping in own home, and service work.

Figure 3.7. Usual occupation of women and men 15 years old and over, Mauswagon 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 3.5, cbocupr1.sys, cboccup15b.sps, m-wchar.xls.

The women included in the Survey were working in the factory, working outside the factory or were homemakers. Women working outside the factory were defined as women who were earning wages and salaries. Thus, self-employed women were excluded from the sample, although they comprised eight per cent of the women aged 15-49 in the baseline population. There were 100 women in each work category: factory worker, non-factory worker and homemaker. Table 3.3 shows the occupations of women and men non-factory workers in the sample.

Table 3.3. Usual occupation of women and men working outside the factory in the Survey, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

non-factory work	women	men
professional/administrative	42	17
clerk	32	10
sales	12	14
agriculture, forestry, fishery	0	6
transport and communication	2	20
crafts and production	0	12
service	12	21
total	100	100
number	100	89

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993

Research methods

I have used a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches in this study. Women's work and women's roles in comparison to men's work and roles cannot be adequately explained by the analysis of the quantitative Baseline Study and sample Survey data alone. Quantitative data can provide only an indirect explanation of the nature of and rationale for women's and men's work roles through a description of associated characteristics. More direct explanations depend on an examination of why and how women and men interact with other members of the household and others in the workplace.

The study combined a qualitative approach using data from in-depth interviews, life histories and participant observation with a quantitative approach using data from the Baseline Study and the Survey. Qualitative methods allowed me to know people individually and to view them as they were. I was able to learn something of how their lives had evolved, unravelling the meanings of their roles, relationships within the home, and work within and outside the home for them and for my research. Participant observation allowed me to experience what it was like to be a woman working in the factory. In McCracken's (1988: 17) words, 'qualitative research does not survey the terrain, it mines it'. Qualitative methods not only add explanation to the analysis but also demonstrate meanings and understanding about the problems and phenomena under study (Berg, 1989: 6). The quantitative approach using both the Baseline Study and the Survey generated a statistical data base that revealed many of the relevant 'facts', while the qualitative approach using in-depth interviews, life histories and participant observation helped provide an in-depth understanding of women's work and roles by examining the internal dynamics of the families and the working environment.

I used the multi-method approach, bearing in mind Sieber's (1973) claims not only for the merit of multi-method work but also that certain information cannot be gained by a single technique. In sum, the qualitative and quantitative approaches in this study were not alternatives, for both were required. Qualitative data collection from a small number of subjects was accomplished only after conducting a quantitative Baseline Study of the research area. Both approaches were needed for the particular kinds of questions to be answered in this research.

Sample selection for quantitative data

Probability Proportionate to Size (PPS) was used to select the sample of women from each of the sub-populations. Since I had decided to include 100 women for each work category, each zone was represented according to the proportion of factory workers, non-factory workers and homemakers in its population. The original plan was that the women working outside the factory would be saleswomen working in department stores, in order to represent modern-sector wage workers. However, I could not obtain enough women from that category. Consequently, I expanded the composition to include women in teaching and clerical jobs. This resulted in a higher educational attainment of the sample of women working outside the factory compared to the factory workers and homemakers, although they still represent modern sector workers.

Once the women in these different occupational categories had been selected, a male resident in each woman's household was included in the sample. For the ever-married woman, the husband was chosen if present; if not, either the father or a resident brother was chosen. For a never-married woman, the father or a resident brother was chosen. Two hundred and ninety-three men were thus selected. No male residents lived in the households of seven of the women included in the Survey. I realised later that because of the disparity of ages, especially in the case of fathers, comparability was problematic. Women in the sample were chosen from the 15 to 49 age group while the men were aged 15 and above. Most of the men who were fathers were more than 49 years old.

The occupations of the men were more diverse than those of the women because I deliberately restricted women to three occupational categories, factory workers, non-factory workers and homemakers. Among the men, some non-wage and non-salary-earners were included. Non-wage and non-salary-earners were those earning an income in the informal sector. They were not classified as homemakers because they were self-employed or tending small businesses. The questionnaire for the women was more extensive than that for the men because women were the main focus of the study. I did not conduct in-depth interviews among the men but only among the women. This proved to be a limitation of the study since I obtained only one side of the story, especially for decision-making within the household.

Data collection and processing for quantitative data

Quantitative data collection and processing involved three phases: the preparatory phase, the enumeration and other aspects of the survey proper, and data processing. The preparatory phase included the training of interviewers and the formulation, translation and pre-testing of questionnaires. The enumeration and survey proper covered the interview, spot-checking, editing and callbacks, and substitutions.

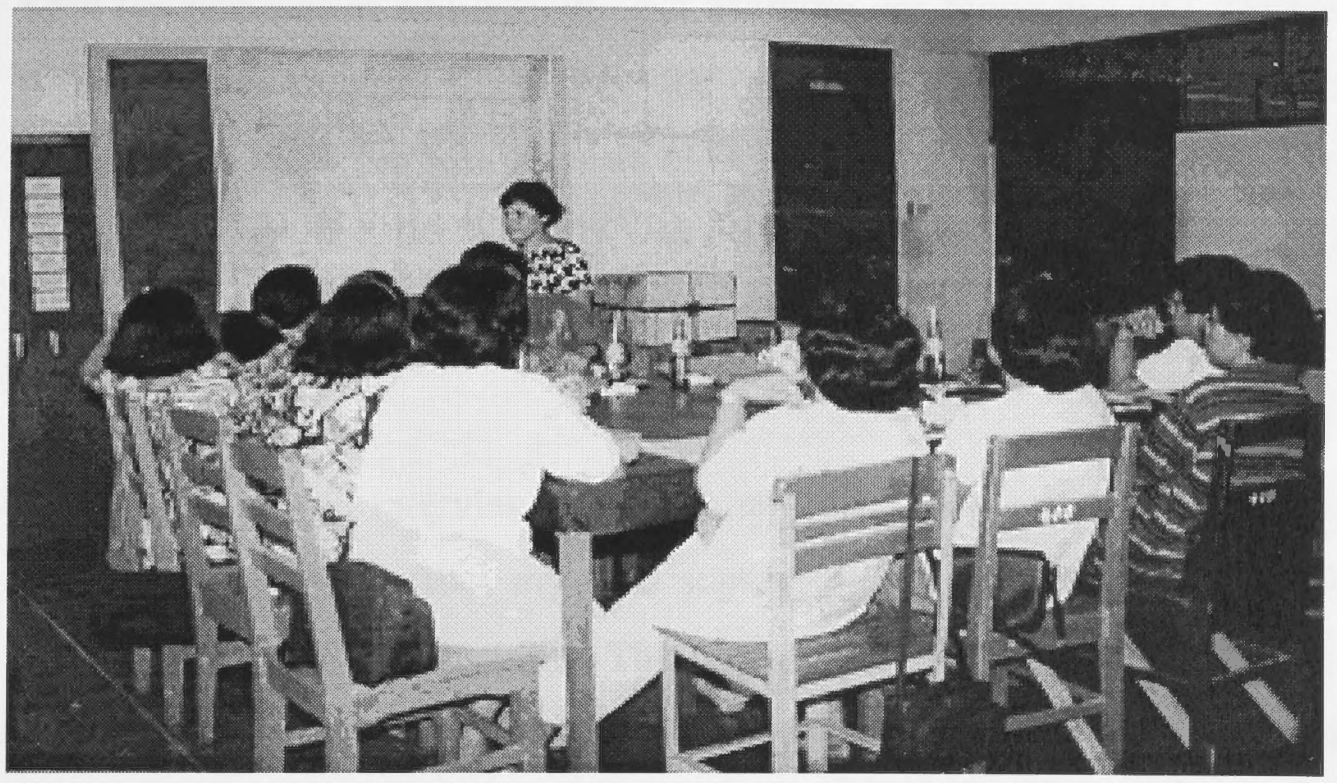
Preparatory phase

In preparation, I conducted a two-day training course for 10 interviewers and one field supervisor. The following issues were covered by the course: objectives of the study, need for rapport and confidentiality, mock interviews, and basic interpersonal communication skills. The various stages of the research were explained to the interviewers and field supervisor. I highlighted the importance of the Baseline Study in identifying the three types of women needed for the study: factory workers, non-factory workers, and homemakers.

The people involved in the Baseline Study and the Survey were trained interviewers of the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture (RIMCU). Hence, less time needed to be spent discussing mapping and household listing. More time was spent discussing the meanings of the concepts to be used in order to minimise breakdowns in communication during the interview phase.

The two-day training emphasised communication skills relevant to interviewing, including interviewers' attitudes and gestures likely to inhibit or encourage the respondents to speak out, and conduct and speech calculated to foster a pleasant, respondent-centred interview. The need for warmth and genuine interest in the ideas of the respondent was particularly emphasised.

Plate 3.1. Field supervisor explains mapping to the 10 interviewers during the two-day training



The questionnaires and interview schedules used a standard introduction and order of questions. Techniques were introduced to enable interviewers to adhere to the introduction, wording and order of questions without seeming stiff or artificial. Probing techniques that did not lead the respondents were introduced through exercises. All the techniques were geared to cultivating a friendly atmosphere during the interview.

Concepts to be used during the interview were clarified, and the meaning of the term 'household' was reviewed. The identification of household head was explained, as well as who should be included in the household enumeration. All the questions were considered one by one, and unclear matters identified and resolved. For example, household members who had not resided in the household were not enumerated.

Communication exercises were conducted to point out how meanings can be distorted as messages are transferred from the source to the receiver. Interviewers performed practice interviews in pairs. The audience, consisting of the remaining interviewers, the field supervisor and myself, provided feedback after the practice interviews. For example, we pointed out to one of the interviewers her reaction when she found out later that her partner who played the respondent had included a household member who had already established a new household in Cagayan de Oro City. Her facial expression showed irritation, a wrinkled forehead and pursed lips. The respondent seemed taken aback. Irritated expressions often make the respondent uneasy and may even cause the interview to end prematurely. The field supervisor and myself reviewed the completed

questionnaire form to check whether what he had heard during the interview matched what the interviewer had written. For example, we found that one interviewer did not correct the information given about the respondent's birthday. At first the respondent had answered that she was 30 years old. Later, when asked for her month and year of birth, she stated that her birthday was the month after the interview. In fact, she was only 29 years old but had reported her age as 30 years, anticipating her birthday the following month.

Questionnaires and interview schedules underwent some changes as a result of these sessions. Comments from my field supervisor were incorporated, and changes were made to the order of questions. The original baseline and survey interview questions were written in English and later translated into Cebuano (one of the 11 languages and 87 dialects spoken in the Philippines and the prevailing language in Cagayan de Oro City and Misamis Oriental).

I translated the questionnaires with the help of my sister, both of us being native Cebuano speakers. There were fours sets of survey questionnaires for factory workers, non-factory workers, homemakers, and men who were residents of the women's households. A pregnancy history was included for ever-married women. Problems cropped up in translation since my sister and I came from the Visayas region and some words were only understood by Cebuano speakers in the Visayas (one of the three main island groups of the Philippine archipelago) but not by the Cebuano speakers in Cagayan de Oro City or Misamis Oriental Province. Three RIMCU supervisors who came from Misamis Oriental discussed the first Cebuano translation. Their round-table discussion of each question produced an improved translation that was used for pre-testing.

Plate 3.2. Collating questionnaires for the Baseline Study and Survey

The baseline questions were straightforward. After two rounds of pre-tests, the final baseline questionnaire could be printed. The three sets of survey questionnaires for the women and another set for men who were residents in the women's households were more complicated. Translation took considerably more than a week. Three rounds of pre-testing and three rounds of modification were necessary before the final versions of the questionnaires could be printed. All interviews were conducted in Cebuano.

Enumeration and survey proper

Interviewing is both an art and a skill. It takes a lot of patience, goodwill, humility, and humour (including the ability to laugh at oneself). A number of difficulties arose during the initial stage of the field interview, including suspicious husbands, busy respondents, and even unfriendly dogs.

Probing was often used during the interview to create and foster a friendly, warm relationship between the respondent and interviewer. The channels of communication were widened and kept open. Through probing, the information supplied could be checked to verify whether it was consistent with other information or reflected the respondent's genuine opinion.

There were occasions when disparities appeared between the original answer and the respondent's later statements. This was pointed out in a neutral manner, and the answers counter-checked by repeating previous questions to explore apparent inconsistencies or contradictions. The interviewers were trained to emphasise that there were no right or wrong answers and to avoid bias toward or against any particular

response to the questions asked. The main purpose was to find out what the respondent really thought.

On average, enumerators took 15 minutes to complete the baseline questionnaire for a five-member household. This included pleasantries and a brief explanation of the purpose of the Baseline Study. A longer time was usually needed for households with more than five members. Some household members demanded longer explanations about the research. In such cases, an endorsement letter from the *Barangay* Captain (Village Head) was shown. At the time of the research, people residing on government land were fearful of being uprooted because of planned road widening for the Cagayan-Iligan-Corridor (CIC) project. As a result, interviewers sometimes had to explain at length that the study was not related to the CIC project.

While on average it only took 15 minutes to complete the baseline questionnaire, the Survey schedule took 40-60 minutes to complete, depending upon the respondent. At times, respondents had to attend to other tasks during an interview, such as taking care of children or washing clothes.

Field interviewers worked during weekends because some respondents were available only on weekends. Some interviews were conducted as early as half past six in the morning or as late as half past nine in the evening. A number of respondents were not available between eight o'clock in the morning and eight o'clock in the evening because of shift work.

Plate 3.3. Interviewing Mauswagon women

Editing was built in to the field work, while spot-checking was conducted during the first two weeks of field interviews. Editing the completed questionnaires was necessary for completeness and consistency, while spot-checking re-inforced to interviewers the importance of conducting the interviews accurately. The field supervisor and myself spot-checked interviewers while they conducted interviews in the women's households. We edited the forms in one of the small restaurants in the village where, with the owner's permission, we established our 'headquarters.'

At lunch time each day interviewers were asked to re-interview respondents from the previous day if any inconsistencies in response were found, or if any portion of the schedule had been omitted. Callbacks were required of interviewers in all cases where answers were inconsistent, incomplete or unclear. How to handle particular types of recurrent situations, or problems that had arisen (for example, dealing with a difficult respondent) and might arise again was also discussed at lunch times. Techniques were shared as to how elusive or suspicious respondents had been interviewed successfully. These lunch-time discussions proved important in maintaining the quality of the field work.

In some instances, the designated respondents could not be interviewed. Substitutions were found for four respondents: one woman homemaker, a respondent who was enumerated during the Baseline Study but had moved to another place at the time of the Survey; one woman working outside the factory who was always out of the house in spite of numerous callbacks; a male resident in a married homemaker household who refused to be interviewed and the married homemaker concerned. Replacements were randomly selected beforehand because such problems had been foreseen.

In general, no serious problem was encountered during the Baseline Study and the Survey. The Baseline Study enumeration took 10 days while the Survey took more than a month.

Coding and processing

Coding of the interview data was performed at the RIMCU office under the supervision of the field supervisor and myself. A half-day training was conducted for the five coders. Each coder checked her own work, which was checked again by another coder. The data were entered using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data entry program. Initial processing was also performed using the SPSS program at the RIMCU computer room.

Plate 3.4. Coding the completed Baseline Study questionnaires

Data collection and processing of the qualitative data

The qualitative data collection and processing phase required careful planning. A large part of my field-work time was spent in qualitative data collection, processing, note-taking, re-writing and report writing. Gathering qualitative data took even longer than gathering quantitative data. Notes were organised and reviewed at the end of the day. Thus, preliminary analysis was an integral part of qualitative data collection.

The major phases involved in collection and processing of qualitative data were: informant selection, the interview process, note-taking and report writing, and data processing.

Informant selection

The Survey provided the basis for selecting informants for in-depth interviews. I matched the characteristics of the women in the three occupational categories and selected four women for each category (two ever-married and two never-married), a total of 12 informants. However one of the informants left for Metro Manila while the in-depth interview was still under way, thus reducing the total to 11. In the informant selection, I followed McCracken's (1988: 17) principle that 'less is more' and chose to

work longer and with greater care with a few people rather than lightly with more people.

In the selection of informants for qualitative cases, the issue is one of access not generalisability (McCracken, 1988: 17). The choice of informants was therefore influenced by the friendliness and positive attitude of the women towards me. Since in-depth interviews were to be conducted repeatedly, women who agreed to be visited several times for interviews were chosen. Unlike quantitative data where the respondent remains anonymous, qualitative data are personal to the individual respondent. Thus, pseudonyms have been used for key informants. The respondents' personal characteristics are relevant to data analysis and interpretation. Hence, the use of pseudonyms was necessary to protect their privacy.

The interview process

The in-depth interviews and life histories covered the informant's childhood, family orientation, married life (for the ever-married women), perceptions of decision-making power at home, role in the family, attitude toward paid and unpaid work, reasons for seeking wage/salary employment whether in the factory or outside the factory and reasons for not joining wage/salary employment for those not in wage/salary employment. An interview guide consisting of a list of the topics was used. During the early stages of qualitative data collection, I used casual conversations to establish rapport and encourage informants to open up and answer questions. Interviews lasted for as long as two to three hours or as little as five minutes, depending upon the woman's availability. During the in-depth interviews, I verified certain responses by asking questions differently in similar contexts.

By the time I began to conduct the in-depth interviews, my relationship with the informants had progressed from that of researcher to friend. During the Baseline Study, I was the one who had searched for them; this time they were the ones who looked for me if I had not visited their homes over a three-day period. My informants welcomed me to their homes. Usually, I talked to them while they performed household chores, such as washing clothes, cooking, and taking care of children. If they were too busy to talk to me, I would just sit and observe while they carried out their day-to-day chores. At other times, they would give me their undivided attention. They assured me that I

was not interfering with their work schedules. Our talk, according to homemakers, broke the monotony of their household chores and for the factory and non-factory workers the routine of working in the factory or outside the factory and returning home to attend to household chores.

Husbands who had been sometimes initially suspicious of the study during the Baseline Study also became my friends. In the beginning they had been hesitant to tell me that their wives were at home. However, by the time of the in-depth interviews they were the ones who informed me that their wives were at home when I met them at the village *sari-sari* store (mini-grocery store). Since the women were already used to my presence, they treated me like a family member rather than as a visitor. They just went on working at their household chores. By contrast, the husbands sometimes were concerned that I should be entertained because I was a visitor.

I tried my best not to abuse the informants' hospitality and friendship. I saw to it that I brought my own provisions for the day. Sometimes they were offended because I insisted on eating my packed snack, but I did not want to burden them with buying snacks for me. One couple once told me that they offered me something to eat, not because they saw me as a researcher but as a friend.

In return for their generosity, I sometimes took sandwiches to share. I bought lollies for children and took family portraits and pictures of babies. As soon as my skill in photography was discovered, I became the photographer for all occasions, such as pre-school graduations, birthdays and baptisms. I made myself available to the informants and their families on these special occasions.

Plate 3.5. Children of factory workers attending the Mauswagon Day Care Centre Graduation

Plate 3.6. Portrait of a factory worker and her family

At a certain point in my field work, I was faced with the dilemma of whether the closeness I had developed with informants would colour my perceptions and affect the interpretation of the data I gathered. In all the books I had read before embarking on the field work, the major theme that emerged was that there are no hard and fast rules about how to conduct qualitative research. However, Bogdan and Taylor's (1975: 52) advice

stood out, 'where involvement is essential to acceptance, then by all means participate; where involvement means competition to status, withdraw.'

My number one guideline for myself when I went on field work was to gain my informants' trust and confidence so that they could freely share their knowledge and feelings with me. I found out in the course of my research that gaining trust and confidence was not a one-way street; it was two-way. That was where the meaning of exchange and reciprocity and the word 'partnership' used by Bogdan and Taylor (1975: 108) sunk into my consciousness:

> The interviewer-subject relationship should consist of a partnership. In this type of research, interviewers are far less concerned with concealing their own feelings or positions. After all, since the subject is expected to bear his or her soul - to open up completely - there has to be some exchange. It is probably unfair and undoubtedly counter-productive for the researcher to completely hold back his or her own feelings.

My participation in the everyday life of the informants enhanced rapport and also resolved the dilemma that confronted me regarding close associations. The risk was that I might be carried away by the closeness such that a critical slant on the materials would be obscured and a sort of an idyllic setting would emerge as an all-embracing picture (Van Maanen, 1982a: 19). However, I found that repeated observations and periods of withdrawal for reflection enabled me to retain a sense of objectivity.

During the Baseline Study, the Survey and the early part of the in-depth interviews, women and their families attempted to present themselves well before me and the enumerators/interviewers. A sense of harmony was projected in their responses (for example, in relation to decision-making and how the women's income was used). We (the interviewers) were seen as strangers then. However, as new faces became familiar, especially in my case since I met the women more often, we were allowed to witness the reality of personal situations. I was told that in the beginning, when they saw me coming, even if they were in the middle of a quarrel, they would pretend as if nothing had happened. Later, they felt that such pretence was not necessary. Thus, as time passed I gained insight into the meanings of laughter, nuances and even body movements, as my informants gradually revealed themselves to me. The closer one gets to another, the harder it is to put up a face or pretend.

As to the issue of neutrality and close association, Van Maanen's (1982b: 110) words helped me resolve the issue:

> As one might surmise, I think neutrality in fieldwork an illusion. Neutrality is itself a role to be enacted and the meaning such a role will carry for people within and without the research setting will, most assuredly, not be neutral. More to the point, however, only by entering into the webs of local associations does a fieldworker begin to glimpse the distinctive nature of what lies within and without these webs. Indeed, as an ethnographer's personal contacts and commitment deepen, a more refined and fixed sense of the social arrangements that characterise the setting develops.

Note-taking and report writing

I took notes when I conducted the interviews. At first, I used a tape recorder for the interview, but informants seemed uncomfortable with the presence of the tape recorder and conversations seemed stilted, so I abandoned it.

Note-taking was difficult during long interviews. In my first two interviews, I attempted to write everything; however, I found that I lost eye contact with my informant. There was no interaction and my informant rambled on as she related her story. Subsequently, I only jotted down key phrases, short quotations and notes on body language and tone of voice. Immediately after the interviews or during evenings and mornings (if I still had other informants to visit after an interview) I wrote more extensive notes, reconstructing the conversations with the help of the key phrases. I included the parts of interviews that seemed out of context at the time, as well as noting intervening activities that may have caused delays. My own reactions during the interview were also recorded. I tried to distinguish between facts, my impressions and interpretation.

In the portraits of Mauswagon women presented in the introduction to this study, I created some composite case studies. I wrote a portrait of a woman for each category (for example, an unmarried woman factory worker) from the information I had gathered during the in-depth interviews and open-ended questions in the Survey from specific women. The composite case studies blended the real experiences of different women from similar working categories (factory workers, non-factory workers or homemakers). The accounts of different women in similar occupational categories were combined to produce a portrait of a 'representative' women in the particular category. The portrait did not attempt to capture all the traits or represent all the women in the specific category (for example, all women working in the factory) but it did represent the most

common experiences and characteristics. By taking the perspective of one woman constructed from different accounts, general issues could be raised that were not reflected in the quantitative Baseline Study and Survey data. Women's work and roles could then be located in the context of both households and the places where they worked outside their homes.

Data analysis

In a sense, data analysis was an on-going process during the qualitative research process. Reading field notes and classifying important topics in the in-depth interviews was done even while I was in the field. While conducting the research itself, association and matching processes took place. For example, when an informant described the money arrangements in her household, I thought through the implications of her relationship with the other members of the households by searching through my own experience in my family with money arrangements and the dynamics that went into play. The matching of experiences helped me see the non-income-earners' fears of withdrawal of monetary support from the earner(s) in their households and the concessions and negotiations that may have been involved.

Upon withdrawal from the field, the first step in data analysis for both the quantitative and qualitative data involved calculating simple statistical frequencies to enumerate the important characteristics common to all types of women studied, as well as the characteristics distinct to each type. This was accomplished by reviewing all the information collected on the different types of women, although, as mentioned earlier, the review was also part of the continual day-by-day examination of the qualitative information gathered.

Data were classified and filed according to the unit of data collection, such as never-married and ever-married women, and were further classified according to work category, namely factory worker, non-factory worker and homemaker. I then tried to determine the most appropriate categories for further analysis. Reading through the entire collection of data without prior structure of categories was extremely useful. I identified instances of overlap between items of data. For example, some items seemed to fall under the category 'income and decision-making' but also appeared relevant to the division of labour and the characteristics of the women. Where I could not decide

where the items belonged, I created sets and subsets and intersections where particular items in a set were shared by two or three sets, realising that complex phenomena can be viewed from many different perspectives. I later created themes and subthemes for my chapters, sections and subsections. I also identified useful quotations from individual informants and, where relevant, quotations from a composite case to illustrate a point in my final write-up. Due to subject overlap, I found some duplication of the cases used in the write-up that were resolved later as I examined the overall flow of the thesis.

Entry to the village and scanning techniques

This section describes the process I went through to gain entry to the village and the factory for this research. My entry to Mauswagon is still vivid in my memory. I first visited Mauswagon for my research on a hot summer afternoon in May 1993. The strong, sharp smell of pineapples told me that I was nearing my destination. My agenda on the first day included meeting the *Barangay* Captain of Mauswagon, meeting the Personnel Manager of QFI, and familiarising myself with the village.

I was armed with letters of introduction addressed to the *Barangay* Captain from the head of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) of Cagayan de Oro City, the General Manager and Personnel Manager of QFI from my supervisor at the Australian National University (ANU), and a 'to whom it may concern' letter, again from my ANU supervisor. All explained the purpose of my research, stressed that ethical practices would be followed and confidentiality preserved, and gave an assurance that the information obtained would be used solely for the research.

Despite these preparations, accomplishing my agenda for that day was not as easy as I had thought. I had to wait more than two hours before I was given an audience with the *Barangay* Captain and some *Barangay* Council members. A number of persons came after me, but were given priority to see the *Barangay* Captain. I decided to show one of the clerks the open letter addressed to the *Barangay* Captain from the head of the DILG. That produced results. The clerk approached the Barangay Captain in her office and informed her of my presence. The *Barangay* Captain came out and signalled that she would attend to me next.

As soon as I was given an audience I discussed my research with the *Barangay* Captain. She informed me that she had already discussed it with the head of the DILG. She made

it clear that she understood the nature and purpose of my research and assured me that she would take it up at the next session of the *Barangay* Council. She also promised to write a letter of endorsement for her constituents in Mauswagon to request their cooperation in my research.

Seeking an audience with the QFI Personnel Manager was more difficult than meeting the *Barangay* Captain. It was made even more difficult by the duty guard's attitude toward me. He was blunt to the point of being rude. My supervisor's letter of introduction had little effect. He had me stand aside and wait as he entertained other visitors.

After the long wait, the only answer I received was that company policy was 'no appointment, no entry'. I tried to explain the importance of my visit and pleaded to be allowed inside to deliver the letters for the General Manager and Personnel Manager of QFI. I was told that I could leave the letters at the guard house.

The idea of leaving the letters with the guard did not appeal to me. However, I did not have much choice. Sensing my hesitation he informed me that nothing left with the guard had ever been lost. My only other reassurance was I that had photocopies of all the letters.

Only months after my field work, as I discussed my experience with my advisers at ANU, I realised that what happened probably reflected my gender status. Unaware of the real meaning of this action, I quietly accepted the subordinate role assigned to me by the guard. Not a single man in that queue, some of whom also had no appointment, was made to wait or refused entry.

I was confused about where to start the first time I explored Mauswagon. I knew that Mauswagon covered seven zones, but there was no one to guide me to the various zones. Eventually, I decided to take a *trisikad*[1]. The *trisikad* driver was curious about my identity. He asked me where I came from because, being familiar with the faces of the people residing in Mauswagon, he had recognised me as a stranger. I told him that I wanted to familiarise myself with the place because I would be conducting research in the village. He volunteered to take me around Mauswagon and point out the zonal boundaries just for a 10-peso fare (equivalent to 60 Australian cents). However, he told

[1] A *trisikad* is a bicycle-driven carriage accommodating two to three passengers.

me that he could not take me to Zone 7 because it was quite a distance from the centre. He also said that we could only pass by those parts of the other zones that were accessible by *trisikad*. Some areas could only be reached by footpaths, especially in the interior where the houses were built close to each other.

I will describe the different zones (Figure 3.2), including the types of dwellings, because these factors affected my data gathering. It was easier to approach people living in houses built near to each other than those living in houses enclosed by fences and gates.

Six of the seven zones, Zones 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and a very small portion of Zone 6 were strung along the national highway, where the factory, banks, gasoline stations and shops were located (Figure 3.2). Zone 7 could be reached by either the provincial or *barangay* roads. Zone 1 was the closest zone of Mauswagon to Cagayan de Oro City. A creek traverses the zone, and a number of houses with *sari-sari* stores were built along the national highway. In the interior portion, clusters of houses were built along the creek.

The central area of Mauswagon was located in Zone 2, including the market, chapel, daycare centre and the factory. In one portion of Zone 2, houses were built so close to each other that I could not even identify where one house ended and the next began. This area was near the market. The other portion of Zone 2 was developed into a subdivision with better road network and better quality houses compared to those built near the market area.

Some of the houses of Zone 3 were also located along the national highway. However, most of the houses were in the interior. Where the houses were built close together, there were no distinct footpaths. In this area, flower pots made out of used tires were produced for sale in Cagayan de Oro City. Most of these businesses were family enterprises.

Some houses in Zone 4 were located along the highway. However, most houses were in the interior and accessible only by footpath. They were built very close to each other. Although some two-storey buildings were made of concrete, most were made of wood with galvanised iron roofs. Some were made of bamboo with roofs of thatched *nipa* (a type of palm tree which grows in marshy or swampy areas). Some houses in Zone 4 were located near the seashore, which was on the other side of the national highway. There was no definite road network in this area, and not even a *trisikad* could enter.

However, there were footpaths. Zone 4 seemed to be economically depressed compared to the other zones.

Zone 5 covered a hilly area with a regular road network even in the hilly portion. However, it was difficult for a *trisikad* to travel the hilly roads. Some of the residents in the hilly areas were squatters on government land. Parts of Zone 2 and 6 were developed into subdivisions. People who resided in subdivisions were better off than those who did not. Most of the houses in the subdivision areas were made of concrete, were enclosed by fences and had gates. Road patterns were well established and the houses accessible to transportation. During succeeding visits, I found that Zone 7 (not reached by *trisikad* on my first day of exploration) was also developed into a subdivision for low- and middle-income groups. The houses had been built by a contractor.

Most of the informants for the in-depth interviews came from Zones 3 and 4 (see Figure 3.2 for the map showing the different zones). People from Zones 3 and 4 were not as economically well-off as those people living in other zones, specifically Zones 2 and 6.

Although there were a few houses located on the highway, most of the houses in Zones 3 and 4 were in the interior. Both zones were densely populated. Passageways were narrow and unpaved. At times, it was not clear whether there was a footpath or not. There was no such thing as 'private property' because people usually ended up at the back doors or, at times the kitchens, of the houses as they followed the not-so-clearly-defined trail or footpath. Open sewage ducts seemed to connect the houses (We often used them as our guide in moving from one house to the next as we prepared our zone maps). When it rained quite hard the water overflowed from the ducts. In some areas in the interior of Zones 3 and 4, the open sewage ducts disappeared and water just flowed where it could.

In spite of the physical difficulties in reaching some of the homes located in the interior for Zones 3 and 4, we found that people from these zones were more accessible because they were more open and accommodating to people like us who were not from Mauswagon. Although the enumerators during the Baseline Study and interviewers during the Survey and myself were subjected to suspicious glances and were asked

seemingly never-ending questions about what we were doing there, they gave us the chance to explain and talk to them.

People residing in Zones 2 and 6 were less approachable, although their houses were accessible physically. We could save time in reaching their houses because we could ride in a *trisikad* as the roads were well-paved. However, it took longer to gather data for the Baseline Study and the Survey in these zones. Most houses had walls and gates. The walls and gates were not just physical barriers to entry, they also served as symbols of inaccessibility. Enumerators had to go back several times to obtain the data for the Baseline Study. Persistence played an important role in enumerating the household members living in the houses in these zones.

Women from Zones 3 and 4 also indicated that they were willing to be interviewed for follow-up and to participate in another interview if they were selected as informants for in-depth interviews. (Interviewers made a point of informing the respondents in advance that they might come back if there were points that they needed to clarify or to verify.)

Entry to the factory and participant observation

It took almost six months from the time I first handed over my letter requesting access to the factory until my request was finally granted. I delivered the letter of introduction written by my supervisor to the personnel manager of QFI in May 1993. After a month without a response, I decided to visit QFI to personally follow up the letter I had handed to the guard. I tried to arrange an appointment but was always blocked by the Personnel Manager's secretary who insisted that I could not be accommodated because the Personnel Manager was too busy.

Even without an appointment, I decided to visit QFI again. To my surprise, I was allowed inside the corporate office. The Personnel Manager's secretary was taken aback when I presented myself and asked her if I could possibly see the Personnel Manager. (I found out several days later that the guard on duty had mistaken me for someone else; hence, he allowed me inside.) I was eventually ushered inside the office of the Personnel Manager. I introduced myself and inquired about the letter addressed to him which I had left with the guard. He told me that he had not received any such letter.

Fortunately, I was able to give him another copy. He asked me to explain what my research was about. Upon hearing my explanation, he suggested that I should visit the Department of Labor and Employment and the Department of Trade and Industry if I wanted statistics and other industrial figures. I explained that my study required more than just statistics, and that I needed to observe the women working, among other things. He told me that he would present my case to the management of QFI and that I should contact him a week later for the outcome.

I did contact him a week later but I did not get the chance to talk to him again. His secretary again told me that the Personnel Manager was too busy and could not be disturbed. The week turned into months, and still I was not able to get an answer. Three months later, I sought the help of the RIMCU secretary to make follow-up inquiries for me. She was told that approval could not be given because the management staff who had to be consulted were out of town. She was told to call again in two weeks. Two weeks later, it was the Personnel Manager himself who was on travel. When he returned, he could not be contacted because he was attending one meeting after another, and the message he left with his secretary was always for the caller to contact him again the following day. A pattern was established. If the call was made in the morning, the RIMCU secretary was told to call at lunch time; if a follow-up call was made at lunch time, she was told that the Personnel Manager had left for the plant site and to call again late in the afternoon. Upon making the call in the late afternoon, she was told that the Personnel Manager was attending another meeting. This went on until the third week of September.

While I was trying my best to gain access to the factory with the help of the RIMCU secretary, I concentrated on the Baseline Study and the Survey. During the third week of September, the Personnel Manager contacted me through the RIMCU Secretary and I was told to report to QFI. This time there was a marked difference in the way I was treated by the guard on duty. Before, I had just been left standing on the side while he attended to other visitors. This time, he informed me that I was expected at the corporate office. Then the phone rang. It was the Personnel Manager's secretary asking whether I had arrived. The guard was told to usher me in. I thought that I had finally succeeded in gaining my request. However, I was put through another interview with management staff. I had to explain again what my research was about. They assured

me that they would take up the subject of my research and request in their next staff meeting. This time they would confer with the Cannery Manager. They also informed me that I would have to report on my findings to them. I left with the assurance that they would contact me a week later.

The following week I received a call directing me to report to the person in charge of operations. From then on, all doors opened for my research. I was given access to publications and other company documents, and to areas in the cannery not open to the public. I was also allowed to work on the production line either on the day or night shift.

Summary

This chapter has described the research area and the research process I followed. It also described Cagayan de Oro City, the larger political unit in which Mauswagon, the village studied is located in order to provide the wider context of the thesis.

As explained earlier, the choice of the area was mainly because of the presence of a large processing plant in which more than half of the workers in 1993 were women. I used both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the study. I conducted a Baseline Study and generated data on the basic socio-demographic characteristics of women and men in Mauswagon. A subsequent 10 per cent sample provided the detailed quantitative data and the framework for the collection of qualitative data.

Although the sample was chosen in order to compare the situation of women and men, there were some systematic differences between the two groups. Because of the method of selection, the majority of the men in the Survey were married and older than the women. They were either the husbands of the ever-married women or fathers or brothers of never-married women or ever-married women in cases where the husbands were not available. Most women in the same sample were identified as either spouse or daughter of the household head, while most men were identified as household heads. Women had more years of schooling than men while younger women and men had more years of schooling than older women and men. Similarly, there was an important systematic difference between the women factory workers than non-factory workers. The latter were generally better educated.

Several practical lessons might be drawn for other researchers from my experience in gaining entry into the village. Introductory letters from my sponsoring institution were necessary and keeping several copies of them proved a wise precaution when the original letter left with the guard could not be located. Letters of permission from formal and informal leaders were vital in gaining entry to the village and the acceptance of the people. Endorsements from local leaders whom the village people knew counted much more than endorsements given by people whom they did not know.

The most difficult aspect in my field work was gaining entry into the factory for participant observation. However, once I was given access to the factory I was able to obtain a first hand experience of the intricacies of factory work and the sex division of labour within.

Some of the detail in this chapter may appear laborious. Some readers might have preferred them to be in an appendix. However, I believe that in order to obtain a full grasp of the research results, the processes involved need to be fully understood by the readers. Therefore, this thesis is not only about results but also about process.

Who are the factory women in Mauswagon is the subject of the next chapter. It reviews the literature about factory women in general and then compares what had been written about factory workers with the findings from Mauswagon.

4

Factory Women: Who are they?

Life does not lie around like leaves in autumn waiting to be swept up, ordered and put into boxes (Westwood, 1984: 3).

Mention of women in factory work is likely to conjure up different and sharply contradictory images. A first image may be of young, single, migrant women working on dimly-lit shop floors; a second may be of harassed, overworked and underpaid women in sweatshops. A third may be of independent women who defy tradition by working outside their homes and who can make their own decisions because of the income they earn. A fourth may be of working women contributing to the upkeep of the households. Confronted with these differing images, a first reaction might be to ask which is accurate. A second reaction might be to suggest that each image reflects one facet of the reality. For images, which the dictionary defines as reflections or likenesses (Longman Dictionary of the English Language, 1984: 731), are not the objects or persons that are represented; they are not the real phenomenon but something that is both more and less. To what extent do these images of factory workers reflect reality?

This chapter examines the identity of the women working in a factory in Mauswagon, Cagayan de Oro City, the Philippines. These women are not the material of a news story; they do not appear in feature stories in magazines like *Women's* or *Graphics* (both popular weekly magazines in the Philippines). However, while they comprise a small proportion of all women in Cagayan de Oro City, the story of their lives and work is important because providing employment for women is often seen a significant way of 'integrating women into the development process' (Elson and Pearson, 1981: 87). Although the modern industrial sector where these women work is still relatively small

in most Third World countries, it will become the fastest growing sector as development continues (Anker and Hein, 1986: 1).

What are the characteristics of the women working in the factory in Mauswagon? Are these women young or old, educated or uneducated? Are they heads of households, spouses or daughters of household heads? How are they perceived by the community? These are some of the basic questions to be answered by this chapter. For ever-married women, it examines the number and ages of their chidlren. For never-married women, it explores their marriage plans, if any. It also examines the reasons why some women entered into factory work while others did not. Before the discussion of the data, the literature in developing and newly industrialised countries about women in factories is reviewed. The chapter presents two cases of never-married women, one a factory worker, the other a homemaker, to provide the context and a general understanding for the data that will be discussed. Discussions of factory workers are presented in comparison with non-factory workers and homemakers.

Factory women: What the literature says

Individual characteristics

Since the late 1960s a new type of wage employment, work in factories producing manufactures for export to the rich countries, has become available to women in many Third World countries (Elson and Pearson, 1981: 87). This work has been documented by researchers in various countries (Table 4.1). The characteristics of women factory workers, as revealed in the literature, are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1. Some countries in developing and newly industrialised countries where women work in factories and literature sources

country	literature source
Argentina	Acero, 1991
Brazil	Humphrey, 1985; Cunningham, 1987; Acero, 1991
Hongkong	Salaff, 1981
Indonesia	Grossman, 1979; Mather, 1985; Wolf, 1986,1990
Malaysia	Grossman, 1979; Ackerman; 1982; Blake, 1984; Ong, 1987; Lie and Lund, 1994
Mauritius	Hein, 1986
Mexico	Bustamante, 1983; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Abraham-van der Mark, 1983; Chant, 1987; Brydon and Chant, 1989;
Morocco	Elson and Pearson, 1981; Joekes, 1985
Philippines	Grossman, 1979; Palabrica-Costello and Costello, 1979; Zosa-Feranil, 1984; del Rosario, 1985; Chant and McIlwaine, 1995
Puerto Rico	Rios, 1990
Singapore	Deyo and Chen, 1976; Wong, 1981; Lim, 1982;
Sri Lanka	Goonatilake and Goonesekere, 1988
Taiwan	Grossman, 1979; Kung, 1983; Greenhalgh, 1985

Table 4.2. Characteristics of women working in the industrial sector in developing and newly industrialised countries as shown by the literature on women in industry

characteristic	industry/country /year
Majority of employees in factories are women	shoe factory in rural Malacca, Malaysia in 1978 (Ackerman, 1982: 91); electronics industry in Bangkok in 1980 (Blake, 1984: 155); free trade zone in Penang, Malaysia in 1980 (Blake, 1984: 154); apparel, electronics, and professional and scientific instruments in Puerto Rico in 1980 (Rios, 1990: 324); textiles, garments, and labour-intensive food manufacturing in Central Java in 1982 (Wolf, 1984: 219); free trade production zones in Malaysia in 1974, in South Korea in 1975, and in Taiwan in 1975 (Frobel et al., 1980: 345); garments, doll- making, footwear, electronics, watches, bags and leather goods, metal, wood and wood related products in the export-processing zone in Bataan, Philippines in 1980 (Zosa-Feranil, 1984: 388)
Most are young and single	free trade zone in Alor Gajah, Malaysia in 1978 (Ackerman, 1982: 105); textiles, clothing and leather goods in Sri Lanka in 1985 (Goonatilake and Goonesekere, 1988: 187,190; *maquiladoras* (assembly plants) in Ciudad de Juarez, Mexico in 1978 (Fernandez-Kelly, 1984: 232); knitting, sewing, and electronic assembly in Mauritius in 1977 (Hein, 1986: 287); semi-conductor industry in the Philippines in 1984 (del Rosario, 1985: 8); electronic companies in Selangor, Malaysia in 1976 (Ong, 1987: 147-148); export-processing zone in Bataan, Philippines in 1980 (Zosa-Feranil, 1984: 389); free trade zone in Penang, Malaysia in 1980 (Blake, 1984: 154); textiles, clothing, footwear, food-processing in south Korea in 1982 (Hyo-Chae, 1988: 329)
Female, rural-urban migrants, rural to newly developed villages for industries	various industries - confectionery and biscuits, textiles and garments etc,. for domestic market in 1979 (Mather, 1985: 156, 173); export-processing zone in Bataan, Philippines (Zosa-Feranil, 1984: 389); free trade zone in Penang, Malaysia in 1980 (Blake, 1984: 154); electronics in South Korea in 1982 (Hyo-Chae, 1988: 329)

In Asia where the bulk of the women were employed, Lim (1990: 105) noted that although most are young and single, age and marital status vary by country and industry over time and according to economic and cultural factors. In addition to age and marital status, the educational levels of women working in export-oriented factories also differ by country and industry over time (Lim, 1990: 106). In Mauritius, the majority of the women employed in 1972 were over 25 years and not single; many had no education at all, while a few had secondary schooling or higher (Hein, 1986: 288). Wolf (1986: 263), in her work in Java classified women into current workers (factory workers) and women who had never worked. She reported that current workers had lower levels of education than those who had never worked. Her findings were similar to those of Kung (1983) in Taiwan and Ackerman (1982) in Malaysia.

The educational attainment of factory workers from developed countries has differed from those in developing countries. In developed countries, women who worked in the factories have had a lower level of education compared to those engaged in white- collar jobs. However, in less developed countries, women who worked in the factories, especially in multi-national companies, have had higher level of education compared to women in developed countries engaged in similar jobs. In Bangkok, for instance, the minimum educational requirement to qualify for factory work in the early 1980s was the completion of primary school, although most workers had completed at least three years of secondary education (Blake, 1984: 155). In countries such as Mexico and Thailand, many factory workers had vocational training or post-secondary, college or university education (International Labour Organisation, 1985: 34). This is because less developed countries tend to have labour surpluses, and factory work attracts more highly educated workers who do not have better job alternatives (Lim, 1990: 107). Lim further observed that tasks carried out by primary school dropouts in multinational electronics factories in Singapore, where labour was scarce, were performed by high school graduates or even part-time college students in the Philippines, where unemployment rates were high. The least advanced countries tend to have larger labour surpluses than their more developed neighbours. Hence, relatively well-educated women in poor countires accept low-skilled factory employment (ILO, 1985: 34-35). Since women have few alternative job opportunities; thus, factory jobs are highly desirable in countries with high unemployment rates even among women with a relatively high level of education.

Why women work in the factories

Women have worked in factories for a variety of reasons, ranging from buying luxury bath soap for women in rural Java (Wolf, 1990: 52) to family survival in Brazil (Cunningham, 1987: 308) and Singapore (Deyo and Chen, 1976: 20). Two main reasons why women work emerge from the literature. One is that the income women earn is necessary for the women's as well as their families' survival. The second is to enable women to buy luxury items and other supplemental but not basic needs for themselves or their families. In rural Java, women workers did not mention assisting their families financially as a reason for their employment; rather they mentioned buying luxury bath soap signified independence and higher status and differentiated them from other poor villagers (Wolf's, 1990: 52).

In some instances, women's reasons for working in the factories were identified by employers rather than women themselves. Employers have tended to assign women the secondary role in earning a living since men were identified as the main income- earners in the family. In Morocco, managers and male factory workers thought that women were 'working for lipstick' (Joekes, 1985: 183). The phrase indicates their view that women did not work to support their families but to earn a little extra money for small personal luxuries. The phrase was sometimes also used to justify the fact that men earned more than women for work that often seemed to be similar. Lim (1983: 78) also reported that employers in Third World countries assumed that women worked for 'pocket money' for luxuries and as supplementary income-earners in families where men were the main income-earners.

However, in Morocco Joekes (1985: 205) found that 'Women from female-headed households are absolutely dependent on their earnings for survival.' Evidence from other countries supports Joekes' view that women were often primary income-earners. Working class women in Bristol (England) worked in factories because they thought that they ought to and their families needed the money they earned (Rosen, 1987: 3). Rosen found that a woman's decision to work or stay at home was influenced by her family's needs for more income, her children's age, her husband's income, and also her husband's views about having a working wife (Rosen, 1987: 94). In Mauritius, 'financial considerations predominated' as the main reason why women worked in the factories (Hein, 1986: 290). In Brazil (Cunningham, 1987: 308) and in Singapore

(Deyo and Chen, 1976: 20) the participation of lower-income women in the factory workforce was driven more by the necessity to survive and shore up incomes, than by the challenges of a working life, or the desire of women to use their education or be useful to society.

Economic considerations and survival have weighed more heavily in the accounts of women themselves than other reasons for women working in factories. However, employers and men have often advanced more trivial explanations. Women's income has contributed a large share to family upkeep. In spite of this contribution, women have been perceived as supplementary income-earners by men and by their employers.

How factory workers have been perceived

Women working in factories have been perceived differently by different people and in different places. In the late 1960s in the Taipei basin in Taiwan, Wolf (1972: 99) found that entering factories had virtually become an automatic step for girls after primary school. In Thailand, Kung observed that factory work appealed most to women from farm families (Kung, 1983: 53). She added that parents perceived factories, more than other work settings such as restaurants, shops, or buses, as a workplace that offered some measure of supervision (Kung, 1983: 54).

In Malaysia, the community's evaluation of factory work was expressed by an illiterate woman's comment that, 'if girls are clever they become teachers, if they are stupid they work in factories' (Ackerman, 1982: 130). In the early stages of industrialisation, the prestige of female factory workers was low in the Malay community since they were 'reported to be sexually loose and available. . .' (Ackerman, 1982: 131). Factory work was regarded as work of last resort for women who could not qualify for white-collar jobs.

Factory workers were reputed to be 'women of easy virtue' in Sri Lanka (Casineder, et al., 1987: 319), and 'immoral' in Malaysia (Ong, 1987; Lin Lean, 1984: 138) and in the Tangerang region of West Java (Mather, 1985: 173). Casineder et al. (1987: 319) suggested that it was women's failure to accept traditional roles that precipitated such hostility. Women working in the factories sought paid employment and economic

independence; they lived away from their homes; and they were not fulfilling the culturally revered roles of mother and wife attending to family and housework.

Whether factory employment has high or low status depends on the particular situation and place. In Singapore, for example, factory work in electronics enterprises ranked relatively low in the job hierarchy, but it ranked quite high in Thailand in the early 1980s (ILO, 1985: 61). The electronics industry was in its infancy in the early 1980s in Thailand. Since production did not require heavy manual labour and took place in clean surroundings not exposed to the heat of the sun, factory workers in a plant in Thailand with headquarters in California and which produced integrated circuits considered their jobs as good as white-collar work (Blake, 1984: 155). Factory workers in a shoe factory in Alor Gajah, Malaysia in the late 1970s, who aimed for white-collar jobs, were nevertheless glad to have found work that was regarded as 'clean and light' compared to domestic and farm work (Ackerman, 1982: 132-133). In rural Java in 1982, where there was 'severe under- and unemployment', a factory job with a steady income was regarded as highly desirable (Wolf, 1984: 229).

In the Philippines in 1993 where work was scarce and there was corresponding under- and unemployment, factory work in multinational companies was highly sought after. As Wolf (1984: 229) found in rural Java, factory workers in a multi-national company in Mauswagon were perceived as a 'privileged group'. This perception was realistic, since foreign-owned companies paid their workers more than Filipino firms and offered additional benefits and privileges (Chant and McIlwaine, 1995: 154).

Women aged 15 to 49 in Mauswagon: Baseline characteristics

Who were the factory workers in Mauswagon? In the streets, one could easily identify them by their distinctive white blouses paired with either pants (usually denim jeans) or skirts. Young factory workers aged 20 to 30 and those in their mid-30s to mid-40s usually wore make-up or at least lipstick. They could be seen walking in droves along the main highway of Mauswagon as they came out from the factory during lunch breaks and at the end of the shift, early in the morning and evening.

This section compares the characteristics of the factory workers and their non-factory peers, both those working outside the factory and the homemakers. Women aged 15 to

49 in the study population were classified as engaged in factory work, non-factory work or housework only. Non-factory work included all other work that paid either a wage or a salary (for example, professional and technical, sales, service). Women who were self-employed and earned an income but were non-wage/salary-earners were excluded.

Of the 1,677 women aged 15 to 49 enumerated in the 1993 Baseline Study, 1,104 were factory workers, non-factory workers, or homemakers aged 15 to 49 years old. The remaining 573 excluded from the study were students and other self-employed women who did not earn wages or salaries. An age range of 15 to 49 was specified for the women in the study and 15 years old and over for men, since the only men in some households were older male relatives.

Table 4.3. Selected characteristics of women in the Mauswagon Baseline Study by work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
age			
less than 30	34	49	58
30 to 39	41	33	28
40 to 49	25	28	14
total	100	100	100
number	335	169	600
marital status			
never-married	32	54	35
ever-married	68	46	65
total	100	100	100
number	335	169	600
relationship to household head			
head	19	5	0
spouse	49	36	51
daughter	25	48	29
other relative	5	6	19
non-relative	1	5	1
total	100	100	100
number	334	169	600

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 4.1, wom1549.sys, ed1549.sps.

Homemakers were younger than the factory workers and non-factory workers, while the factory workers tended to be older than both homemakers and non-factory workers. More than half of the homemakers were aged 29 years or below while a quarter of the factory workers were aged 40 or more.

Regardless of work category, most women identified themselves either as spouses or daughters of household heads. Almost half of the factory workers and the majority of the homemakers were reported as spouses, while 48 per cent of the non-factory workers were reported as daughters of the household head. Almost one-fifth of the women factory workers, but only five per cent of the non-factory workers and none of the homemakers were reported as household heads.

Women identified as household heads comprised only six per cent of the total population of women aged 15 to 49 in the Baseline Study. Most (84 per cent) were factory workers and only 11 and five per cent respectively were non-factory workers or homemakers.

Educational differences were evident among the three groups (Table 4.4). Non-factory workers in all age groups had higher levels of education than the factory workers and homemakers. The majority of the non-factory workers in all age groups had finished college. This is not surprising since non-factory workers included those in the professional, technical, clerical and sales occupations who were all earning either salaries or wages. Professional and technical work included teachers, nurses, chemists, pharamacists, and non-ordained religious workers. Clerical work included accounting clerks, typists, cash receivers, bank tellers, and other workers holding clerical positions in offices. In the Baseline Study there were a number of women who were *sari-sari*[1] store owners and traders. However, in the Survey only those earning wages or salaries were included. Sales work included salespersons in department stores and sales representatives.

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[1] Sari-sari store is a small grocery store selling various goods.

Table 4.4. Women working outside the factory by occupation, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

non-factory work	per cent of women
professional/technical	38
clerical	38
sales	17
others	7
total	100
number	169

Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 4.1, wom1549.sys, ed1549.sps.

More homemakers than factory workers in all age groups had not completed high school (Table 4.5). Slightly more than half of the factory workers aged 30 and above were high school graduates. There were more homemakers who had finished college in the 30 and above age groups than factory workers. Younger factory workers and homemakers had higher levels of education than their older counterparts, reflecting the expansion of education in the Philippines in recent decades. The higher educational attainment of younger women compared to older women could be explained by 'the relative recentness of the spread of mass modern education for girls in developing countries' (Lim, 1990: 106). Although work in the factory did not require a high level of education, because of the competition to gain factory work, the minimum educational requirement had increased in recent times. When education levels were generally low, those who had just reached first year high school or even lower were accepted as factory workers. However, as the general education level of the population increased, a higher level of education was required to gain a factory job. In 1993, all factory workers under 29 years of age were at least high school graduates. Those who exceeded the minimum educational requirement had better chances of being hired compared to those who only just met the minimum requirement. This could be related to the scepticism Corner (1986: 7) noted among sociologists and some Marxist writers that 'at least at higher levels, education does not so much increase productivity' as it offers convenient selection criteria for employers to choose their workers.

Table 4.5. Educational attainment of women by age group and work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

age group and educational attainment	work category		
	factory worker (n = 335)	non-factory worker (n = 169)	homemaker (n = 599)
less than 30			
incomplete high school and lower	0	10	23
high school graduate	34	16	34
vocational/college undergraduate	48	22	24
college graduate	19	53	19
total	100	100	100
number	113	83	347
total n=(*543*)			
30 to 39			
incomplete high school and lower	2	4	26
high school graduate	55	4	33
vocational/college undergraduate	31	12	26
college graduate	12	80	15
total	100	100	100
number	136	56	166
total n=(358)			
40 to 49			
incomplete high school and lower	3	3	30
high school graduate	59	7	37
vocational/college undergraduate	26	17	16
college graduate	12	73	16
total	100	100	100
number	86	30	86
total n=(202)			

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 4.1, wom1549.sys, ed1549.sps

The characteristics of women in the Survey

The women working in the factory were the main focus of this study. However, women working outside the factory (non-factory workers) and homemakers were included for comparison. The non-factory workers were also wage or salary-earners, while the

homemakers did not earn an income for the work they performed at home. This section examines the differences and similarities among these three groups of women.

Before the data generated by the Survey are discussed, a qualitative description of two cases of never-married women, a factory worker and a homemaker, will provide a general understanding of their situation and context. Although these women differed in work category, they came from a more or less comparable socio-economic background. These cases are presented to describe the morphology and internal structure of women's households (Wolf, 1986: 253).

Lorna was a 22-year-old, never-married homemaker. She was slightly built and seemed shy. She was the third child of seven, five boys and two girls. In 1993, six of the children still lived with their parents. The eldest, a 25-year-old boy, was already married, but he and his wife and one-year-old son still lived with Lorna's parents. The second was a 23-year-old boy who lived with the parents of his live-in partner at the time of the interview. The third was Lorna. The fourth was a 21-year-old boy who worked as a *jeepney* conductor during weekends. The fifth and sixth, a 13-year-old boy and an 11-year-old girl respectively, were both students. The youngest, an 8-year-old boy, could not walk because of sickness suffered while he was still an infant. None had reached college level education. Lorna had completed third year high school. Their parents did not have the means to send them to college.

The state of the house where they lived spoke of the family's finances. The house was built from a mixture of bamboo and wood with a *nipa* thatched roof. The stairs were not so steady, and the hand rail could not be relied upon for support. Their household possessions were sparse; the only household appliance was a black-and-white television. According to Lorna only one channel could be viewed but it was better than nothing. Three chairs stood in the living room and a sofa was placed on a small veranda. In good humour, Lorna jokingly told me that they were fortunate to see stars at night: the roof needed new set of *nipa* thatching and there were holes and gaps between the shingles. However, it was really a problem when it rained. Then they had to climb to the roof and insert folded cartons or plastic bags to cover the holes to prevent the water from leaking inside the house. One particular hole that had grown so big that no amount of cartons could prevent the water from dripping. They just had to place a pail under it to catch the water.

According to Lorna, life was hard. In the household, only her eldest brother earned a steady income but he was already married and had to support his own family. Lorna's mother accepted laundry and cleaning jobs from neighbours, while her father accepted radio repair work from time to time. However, her father's income could not be depended upon because he did not ask for a definite price for the work, but accepted any amount given to him. At times, the cost of the parts he bought for the radio was more than the amount he received for the repair. 'He is too shy to demand an amount that will compensate him for his labour, much less for the spare parts bought. Shyness is a trait I inherited from my father,' Lorna disclosed. Her father had finished high school, while her mother had reached second year high school.

At the age of 17, Lorna had gone to Manila to help a cousin tend a *sari-sari* store. However, she ended up working as a housemaid because the *sari-sari* store was demolished to make way for a house extension. She stayed in Manila for four-and-a-half months and then returned home because of a misunderstanding with her employer. It was only eight months after she arrived back from Manila that she was able to obtain another job as a saleswoman in one of the department stores. However, she resigned from there when her already low pay was deducted to pay for 10 can openers which were lost in the department to which she was assigned. There were times when she regretted her decision to resign; although her income had been meagre, at least she had an income. 'While I was working, my family depended on me for our needs,' Lorna explained. She bought either fish or meat and rice for their needs. She could buy on credit groceries from the department store where she worked, and the payment would be deducted from her wage every fortnight.

She applied at QFI for a job as a factory worker but was not accepted. At the time of the interview she stayed at home, cleaned the house, washed the family's clothes and attended to the needs of an aging grandmother.

Another case was Letty. She was a 24-year-old, never-married factory worker, second in a family of four children. The eldest child was a brother, a year older than Letty who was out of work at the time of the interview. He had worked for five months in a charcoal factory but was retrenched. The third was her 19-year-old sister who was training on a vocational course sponsored by the government, and the youngest was a 15-year-old brother who was in high school. During my second visit to Letty's home,

her older brother introduced a woman as a cousin who would be spending her vacation with them. Letty later told me that the woman was her brother's girlfriend who had decided to live with them because she was pregnant.

Letty finished high school but was not able to pursue college education because her family could not afford it. She was the only member in the household who earned a regular income. Her father went fishing from time to time. Sometimes he could buy rice from the proceeds of his catch but this was not often. Her mother was sickly and on medication in 1993. She had once been engaged in buying and selling woven mats, bananas and other agricultural products. At that time Letty reported that her mother had not eaten properly as she went from one place to the other selling and buying goods. She rarely ate on time and sometimes did not eat at all. To me, her mother seemed not to be in a right frame of mind. She once joined in our conversation, but her answers and contributions bore no relation to the topic discussed. It was on Letty's income that the family depended for almost all of their needs.

Part of Letty's long term plan was to repair their house. On one of my visits she voiced the observation that other people may not consider their house a house at all. 'What have we got?,' she mused. And she started enumerating, 'A mirror in which only half a person's image can be seen, a two-step staircase that is not so steady, a pink plastic shower curtain that divides the kitchen and the living room, overlapping cardboard and plywood walls, three wooden stools, two unmatched curtains, one blue and the other one green, two old 45 records plastered on the wall as decor, a poster of a local movie star advertising a brand of beer, and an outdated calendar.' Letty also mentioned that they owned a small radio but her younger sister who was on training had taken it with her.

Despite her simple abode, Letty still considered herself fortunate in having a friend whom she had met in her church who had backed her application at QFI. The friend that backed her was one of the QFI staff who held a supervisory position.

Lorna and Letty shared some common characteristics. They were in their 20s, had high school education and lived in poor households. There were seven adults in Lorna's household, two adolescents, a boy and an infant. Of the seven adults only one was a regular income-earner. Lorna's father and mother had odd jobs but the income earned

was not regular. Lorna took care of the housework and her aging grandmother. In Letty's household, there were five adults and two adolescents. Only Letty earned a regular income. Her mother was sickly and could not work. Her brother was unemployed and still looking for work.

On the surface, Lorna and Letty and their families shared similar socio-economic characteristics. However, one important difference between the two was Letty's employment in the factory. The succeeding discussion is an attempt to learn more about these women engaged in factory work, non-factory work and those who stayed at home. Why did some women stay at home while others worked? I now turn to the data.

Most of the women in the study were young. Two-thirds of the homemakers and almost half of both factory workers and non-factory workers were aged 29 or less. Homemakers, both never-married and ever-married, were younger than factory and non-factory workers (Table 4.6). The mean age of both never-married and ever-married homemakers was 27, compared with 32 for factory workers and 31 for non-factory workers. Homemakers were more likely to be women who had recently finished schooling or those who had stopped their schooling before completing high school. Most never-married homemakers were actively seeking work, indicating that their homemaker status was not a matter of choice. Never-married factory workers tended to be older than the other never-married women while ever-married non-factory workers tended to be the oldest among the ever-married women.

Table 4.6. Mean age of women in the Survey by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (mean number of years)

	work category		
marital status	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
never-married	29	27	23
ever-married	34	36	32
overall mean	32	31	27
number	100	100	100

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, wom-all-av.sps.

Factory workers were equally divided between daughters and spouses of household heads, while more non-factory workers were daughters and more homemakers were spouses. The majority of the households were headed by men. Very few factory and non-factory workers and no homemakers identified themselves as household heads.

However, as the cases of Letty and Lorna demonstrate, this did not mean that they were only supplementary income-earners in the households. In fact, many were the main sources of income for their households.

What were the characteristics of these women who identified themselves as household heads? Of the 300 women in the Survey, only 16 claimed to be household heads (Table 4.7). Of these, more than half (nine) were factory workers and the rest were non-factory workers. The majority were aged 30 and above. For non-factory workers, the majority had finished college while more than half of the factory workers had reached vocational or college undergraduate level. Most of the factory workers had never married while most of the non-factory workers had been married.

All women who identified themselves as household heads claimed to be the main breadwinners in their households. The majority of the husbands of the ever-married factory household heads and half of the husbands of the non-factory household heads were homemakers; hence, they did not earn an income. Almost all of the women household heads, whether married or not, indicated that they were the decision-makers regarding daily and other expenses at home, whether they worked or not, and in their choice of friends.

Table 4.7. Relationship of women 15 to 49 years old to household head by work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

relationship to household head	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
head	9	7	0
spouse	42	36	48
daughter	42	46	37
sister	7	5	9
other relative	0	6	6
total	100	100	100
number	100	100	100

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwom.sys, wom.sps.

The size of the households in the Survey varied from one to 16 members. Homemakers tended to live in larger households, and non-factory workers tended to live in the smallest households (Table 4.8). The largest households were those of never-married homemakers while the smallest were of ever-married non-factory workers.

Table 4.8. Women's average household size by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993

marital status	work category		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
never-married	6.9	6.6	7.5
ever-married	6.1	5.9	6.0
overall	6.5	6.3	6.8
number	100	100	100

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, wom-all-av.sps.

The educational attainment of the women in the Survey was similar to that of the baseline population. More non-factory workers had obtained college degrees compared to factory workers and homemakers. Younger factory workers and homemakers had reached higher levels of educational attainment than their older counterparts. Older women employed at QFI tended to have lower educational attainment than younger women.

Married women in the Survey

Husbands tended to be older than their wives. Husbands of factory and non-factory workers were older than their wives by an average of one year while husbands of homemakers were older by an average of four years. There is evidence that husbands who are considerably older than their wives tend to exert more authority, and that such wives experience less domestic autonomy than do women whose husbands are closer to them in age (Cain, 1984 in Jejeebhoy, 1991: 220).

Homemakers registered the highest average number of children ever born, while non-factory workers registered the lowest (Table 4.9). Almost half of the non-factory workers had at least one or two children, while a little more than 40 per cent of the factory workers had three to four children. More than a third of the homemakers had five children or more.

The majority of ever-married women had children under seven years of age. The figure was highest for factory workers at 80 per cent. However, this did not deter the factory workers from working. A quarter of the homemakers and nearly a fifth of the factory workers had from three to six children under seven years of age. Almost half (48 per cent) of ever-married homemakers who had worked before reported that they had

stopped working in order to take care of their husbands and children, while most of the never-married homemakers were actively seeking jobs. The majority of factory and non-factory workers had one child under seven years of age.

Table 4.9. Selected characteristics of married women in the Survey by work category, Mauswagon, 1993

	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
women (mean age)	34	36	32
number	50	50	50
Husbands (mean age)	35	37	36
number	50	50	50
children ever born (CEB) (percentage)			
none	2	12	6
one to two	40	46	42
three to four	42	32	18
five and above	16	10	34
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50
mean CEB	2.9	2.3	3.4
number	50	50	50
with children > 7 yrs (percentage)			
yes	80	57	75
no	20	43	25
total	100	100	100
number	49	44	48
number of children < than 7 yrs			
one	54	64	44
two	28	32	31
three to six	18	4	25
total	100	100	100
number	39	25	36

Source: 1993 Baseline Study, Appendix Table 4.1, wom1549.sys, ed1549.sps.

Working women: Their work and motives for working

The duration of the current job was longer for ever-married factory and non-factory workers than for their never-married counterparts (Table 4.10). This was probably because ever-married women were older than the never-married women in the Survey (see Table 4.5). The average number of years worked in the current job by never-married factory workers (4.8 years) was less than half the mean number of years ever-married factory workers had spent in the factory (11.5 years). Non-factory workers had shorter durations of current work than factory workers: non-factory workers had been in their jobs for an average of only five years compared with eight years for factory workers. Never-married non-factory workers had spent the least number of years in their current place of work, with an average of two years. The longer durations of work for factory workers were probably because QFI offered greater job security and other benefits for regular employees than other employers. Hence, the turnover was lower than in other workplaces.

Table 4.10. Work duration of women by work category, marital status and age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (mean number of years)

marital status and age group	work category	
	factory worker	non-factory worker
never-married		
less than 30	1.7 *(32)*	1.2 *(36)*
30 to 39	7.8 *(14)*	3.0 *(8)*
40 to 49	19.8 *(4)*	17.7 *(3)*
mean	4.8 *(50)*	2.5 *(47)*
ever-married		
less than 30	4.1 *(13)*	2.5 *(10)*
30 to 39	13.1 *(27)*	8.5 *(24)*
40 to 49	16.9 *(10)*	11.6 *(16)*
mean	11.5 *(50)*	8.3 *(50)*
overall mean	8.1 *(100)*	5.4 *(97)*

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, womwage-av.sps.

To earn money and to support parents and family were the answers most often given by all the women as reasons for working (Table 4.11). However, more non-factory workers gave self-fulfilment as a reason for working than factory workers. The younger non-factory workers who had attained a higher level of education were more likely to

cite self-fulfilment as a reason for working. They also wanted to apply their training in their work.

By contrast, Ayen, a 28-year-old, married factory worker who had second year college education and was operating one of the *ginaca* machines (machines that remove the skin, top and bottom ends and core of pineapples), had not had the chance to apply her college training in her work. She said:

> I never use my accounting training gained from school in what I'm doing now. What is needed here is agility and speed. I work for the money I earn to feed and raise my children. I'm the father and mother rolled into one nowadays ... with my husband in prison. I've never thought of my work in terms of self-fulfilment relating to career or my training in school. Perhaps . . . self-fulfilment in a sense as a mother, that I can provide my children with their needs.

Table 4.11. Reasons for working by women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

reasons for working	work category			
	factory worker		non-factory worker	
	ever-married		never-married	
	factory	non-factory	factory	non-factory
earn money	46	60	45	37
self fulfilment	2	10	4	22
support parents/family	28	20	39	22
save for the future	8	8	4	14
others	16	2	8	4
total	100	100	100	100
number	50	50	50	49

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen1.sys, wom-all.sps.

Marriage plans among never-married women

More than half (58 per cent) of the never-married women were aged 25 or below while a quarter were aged 26 to 30 and the remaining 17 per cent were aged 31 or more. The majority of never-married women in all three work categories expected to marry. Most expected to get married between age 26 to 30 (Table 4.12). They were hoping that by that age they would be mentally and emotionally stable. Almost a third of the non-factory workers reported that they wanted to marry at that particular age because they

hoped that they would be financially stable at that time (Table 4.13). Some of those who answered that they did not expect to get married cited their age as a reason, since it would be difficult to bear a child. Some had been jilted by their boyfriends and no longer entertained marriage plans. Some just did not want to get married. Most of those who did not expect to get married were factory workers.

Table 4.12. Age at which never-married women expect to get married by work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category		
age	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
21 to 25	35	15	39
26 to 30	47	67	61
30 and above	18	18	0
total	100	100	100
number	40	40	46

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen1.sys, singwom.sps.

Table 4.13. Reasons for marrying at the age mentioned by women's work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category		
reasons	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
mentally /emotionally stable	58	39	70
financially stable	5	29	13
fulfil family duty	15	17	4
age not at risk	17	10	0
other[1]	5	5	13
total	100	100	100
number	40	41	47

Note: 1*Other* included reasons such as friends will be married by such an age so I should also be married by then, and agreed with boyfriend to marry at that age.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen1.sys, singwom.sps.

How factory workers have been perceived in Mauswagon

As mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, in 1993 factory workers in Mauswagon were perceived as a 'privileged' group. With the scarcity of jobs, obtaining work at QFI was highly competitive. Because of the competitiveness, the higher the education of

applicants, the greater would be their chances of being hired. Hence, there were college graduates among the factory workers. Furthermore, most of the factory workers interviewed, who had been hired from the mid-1980s up to 1993, explained that somebody from within QFI had backed their applications. Without their backers they would not have been hired. The homemakers who had applied but were not hired lamented that nobody backed their applications; hence they were not hired. As such, factory workers, especially the never-married, were admired and envied by their contemporaries who did not have factory jobs. Lorna (one of the cases presented earlier), a former saleswoman who resigned and was a homemaker at the time of the interview, narrated the factors that led her to resign from her work:

> I cannot reconcile why I was required to pay for stolen articles that were not even my responsibility since I was assigned in another section . . . Indeed, life is not fair. Another contributing factor was I envied my friends who worked at QFI. They received a much higher pay than me . . . I think we were exerting the same effort. If they stood the whole day, I was also standing the whole day in my work at the department store. I was sort of demoralised . . .

Some parents expressed a desire for their daughters to obtain a job at QFI. The mother of Cristina, who was a saleswoman in one of the department stores in nearby Cagayan de Oro City, told me:

> I'm happy that my daughter is working in one of the department stores . . . But it would have been much better if she worked at QFI . . .The pay is much higher there than her present job plus there are other benefits, like rice allowance and the Christmas bonus given in cash and in kind. One can readily identify households with someone working in the factory. They can afford to furnish their houses. . . If only my husband had not opted for an early retirement years before he died . . . At least our children, even one of our children, would have been given priority in hiring . . . But, then, our children were still young at that time . . .

However, a few regarded factory work with scepticism. Ana, a single mother with two children aged five and nine, did not apply for factory work. She was in her third year as an engineering student in one of the neighbouring cities in Central Visayas when she got pregnant and stopped her schooling. Her father, who had worked at QFI, told me that he cannot understand why his daughter did not grab the chance offered to her to be a factory worker, a chance which was not open to just anyone. Upon her father's retirement, Ana could have been hired as a factory worker if she had applied. At that time, dependents of QFI workers who were about to retire were given hiring priority. However, she did not apply but worked instead as an agent for one of the beauty-

product lines. She earned a commission on her sales. Her father commented that it was not a stable job and the income was quite low compared with that of factory workers. However, according to Ana:

> I could not do repetitive work day in and day out as a factory worker does. . . even with the high wage. I do not earn as much as factory workers earn but I enjoy the flexibility that they don't. I'm also my own boss. I also believe in the saying, the bigger the button, the bigger will be the buttonhole (*dako ang uhales, dako sad ang butones)* . . . Your expenses will depend on your income . . . Higher incomes can also lead you into higher debts . . .

Generally, factory work was regarded positively in Mauswagon by all except a few who did not want to perform repetitive tasks no matter how high the pay. Households with members working in the factory were more or less furnished, except in cases like Letty's where she was the only breadwinner in her household and all the day-to-day expenses at home came from her income. Factory workers in Mauswagon did not earn a reputation as women with loose morals as noted earlier in other countries. They were admired and at the same time envied for the high income they earned.

The homemakers and their reasons for staying home

The majority (68 per cent) of never-married homemakers had experienced working for pay while roughly half of the ever-married homemakers had never worked for pay (Table 4.14). The reason most never-married homemakers gave for stopping work was that their work contract had ended, but the ever-married homemakers who stopped working did so to take care of their families. In 1993, the largest group (44 per cent) of never-married homemakers were not working for pay because no jobs were available or they were ineligible for those that were available. A further 33 per cent were waiting for the results of job applications. By contrast, most ever-married homemakers (50 per cent) were not working because they were taking care of home and family.

When asked whether they wanted to work, the majority of both never- and ever-married homemakers answered that they wanted to work. The reason given by all never-married homemakers who did not want to work was that they had to rest because they were over-burdened already by housework. The majority of the 32 per cent of married homemakers who did not intend to seek work answered that they had to take care of their family and the rest were not allowed to work by their husbands.

Table 4.14. Work history of homemakers and plans for joining the labour force by marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	marital status	
	never-married	ever-married
worked before		
yes	68	48
no	32	52
total	100	100
number	50	50
reasons for stopping work		
work contract ends	47	25
take care family	12	46
study	15	8
others	26	21
total	100	100
number	34	24
reasons for not working		
no job available/did not qualify	44	23
take care of house/family	7	50
husband won't allow	0	15
waiting for result of application.	33	6
other	16	6
total	100	100
number	45	34
want to work		
yes	90	68
no	10	32
total	100	100
number	50	50
reasons for not wanting to work		
take care of family	0	56
husband won't allow	0	32
sick, take a rest & others	100	12
total	100	100
number	5	16
type of work wanted (for those who want to work)		
factory	38	35
white-collar	33	23
service/sales	13	6
any decent work and pay	11	18
business	4	18
total	100	100
number	45	34

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen1.sys, womhouse1.sps.

Some of the homemakers were apparently discouraged workers. Among the ever-married homemakers, 50 per cent said they were not working because they had to take

care of their families, suggesting a voluntary choice. However 68 per cent of them said they actually wanted to work. Of the never-married homemakers, 90 per cent said they wanted to work. The majority (13 out of 15) of the never-married women and half (4 out of 8) of the ever-married women who wanted white-collar jobs had finished college. Hence, they were more or less realistic in their desire for white-collar jobs, but there were no jobs available for them in 1993.

Almost a third (five out of 16) of the ever-married homemakers who did not want to work mentioned that their reason for not wanting to work was that their husbands did not allow them to work. Their husbands were wage-earners who worked either in the factory or outside the factory and who earned monthly incomes ranging between P4,001 and 8,000.

The work history of Nenette, a 33-year-old ever-married homemaker and a mother of three children, two boys and a girl, aged 11, nine and four years old respectively, reveals that some wives deferred to their husbands' wishes in choosing to stay at home and care for their families because of the ages of their children. However, as their children grew older and could manage by themselves, wives like Nenette entertained thoughts of working outside the home. However, a feeling of guilt about going out to work while the children were still small surfaced in Nenette's story. Indeed, women in Mauswagon had internalised the roles of nurturer and child-carer in the family.

> After I finished high school, I no longer pursued my studies because my parents could not afford to send me to school. From the age of 16 up to 18 I just stayed at home and did the household chores. When I turned 19 I decided to stay with a relative in one of the zones of Mauswagon. I worked as a salesgirl in their *sari-sari* store. I worked as a salesgirl for five years. It was there that I met my husband, an automotive graduate who worked at QFI . . . I stopped working when I got married. My husband wanted me to stay at home and take care of the house, himself and the children. My husband told me, 'You stay at home because what will happen to the children if you leave them to housemaids.' He told me that this is what he wanted that I should stay at home before we got married . . . If I were offered a job right now, I would really accept the offer. Right now, I do not feel guilty to leave the children for a job. Before, I had to stay at school and wait for them since the school is quite far. Now, they can manage by themselves except the youngest. But there is a school near our house nowadays. . .

Flora, a 40-year-old ever-married homemaker and mother of six children (one of whom died of measles), was content with her role as homemaker. Her remaining five children

ranged in age from 11 to 21 years. She had once worked as a canteen assistant at QFI, while on a summer vacation 22 years ago.

> Quite a number of things happened that summer. My father told me that I would no longer be allowed to continue my studies. It was the same summer that I met my husband, eloped with him and got married later. I was 18 years old at that time. I decided to accept his marriage proposal because he had a stable job at QFI. I cannot even recall whether my husband became my boyfriend before he proposed marriage. Right from the start of our marriage, my husband told me that he wanted to get married so that somebody would take care of him. I relented and I stayed at home to take care of him, the children, and the house. As I look back, I think I've made the right decision by staying at home. It was much better for me to take care of the children than hire somebody to take care of them while I worked. . .

Another case was Beatrice's. She was a 24-year old homemaker. She was a college graduate but had been unsuccessful with her job applications. She started applying for jobs in 1991, immediately after her graduation. She even went to a neighbouring city in Central Visayas to apply for a job in several export-processing companies but none of her applications were accepted. When I interviewed her in October 1993 she told me that she had not applied for a job for the past three months. She was tired of receiving rejections. 'I'm now concentrating on taking care of my family; I've learned to love it and I've gained satisfaction when the house is well-kept.'

In summary, it was not by choice that most never-married homemakers stayed at home. It was because the labour market could not absorb them. They would have preferred to work and earn an income rather than stay at home and do the housework. Among the ever-married women who said that they chose to stay at home to take care of their husbands and children, the decision to stay at home was often heavily influenced by the husband. Some husbands had stated at the outset of their married lives that they would prefer their wives to stay at home and take care of them and the children. Most ever-married homemakers felt that it was their duty as wives and mothers to stay at home rather than work to earn a living.

Conclusion

Women working in the QFI factory did not fit the mould of young, never-married, and mostly migrant women as reported in the literature on workers in export-processing plants in Third World countries. There were young, not so young and mature women working in the QFI factory. No preference for young and single women was evident. The predominance of married women with children under seven years of age and their longer employment histories reflects the willingness of QFI to employ working mothers. QFI employed mothers and never-married women alike.

The younger factory workers in QFI had higher levels of education than their older counterparts. This was because of the rising general education level and the over-supply of labour. In the competition for recruitment those who more than met the minimum qualifications had better chances of being hired. However, the higher level of education was not utilised directly in the work for which they were hired. Factory workers claimed that their training in school was not being applied in their work. Speed, visual acuity, and patience were the skills most needed. This suggests that the returns to the investment in their education were private returns gained from the higher wages that those who obtained jobs could earn. The higher education did not seem to contribute to improved productivity. Rather it merely helped determine access to factory jobs in a highly competitive labour market.

With the scarcity of jobs and difficulty in obtaining work inside QFI, workers, especially those under term hire (on a contractual basis), also tried to perform their best in their work and compete with their peers. Contract workers were hoping that they would be hired permanently as a result of their good performance.

More non-factory workers had reached higher levels of education compared to factory workers and homemakers. They worked as teachers, clerks, and salespersons in department stores. The teachers and clerks had obtained college degrees while salespersons had reached high school level or had obtained a high school diploma. To attain self-fulfilment emerged as one of the reasons why never-married non-factory workers took paid employment. However, to earn money and support parents and the family were the main reasons why ever-married non-factory workers joined the labour market.

Women worked in the factory to earn money to support themselves and their families. They considered themselves to be fortunate in obtaining a job in QFI. In Mauswagon, although factory work in QFI was hard work, many women homemakers and non-factory workers yearned to work there because of the higher pay and other benefits. Factory workers were admired and envied in Mauswagon. On the whole, factory work was positively regarded by factory workers themselves and the rest of the Mauswagon community.

Women's income and their decision-making power within the household is the subject of the next chapter.

5

Paying the Fiddler and Calling the Tune: Income-earners and decision-makers in women's households

I buy almost all our needs: from rice to fish and meat, laundry soap to medicine. . . I decide whether I go out or not without asking permission from my parents. . . I decide what to do with my earnings. Actually there's not much decision making involved because as the only income earner in the family, my earnings go to our basic needs . . . I could choose to spend the money for myself to buy clothes and other fancy things but that would mean foregoing purchase of rice for the family table . . . that I could not do. . .
Letty, 25 years old, unmarried factory worker, 2 October 1993

I pay the electricity bill as my contribution at home. That is the only responsibility I can take because my earnings are very small. . . In fact my mother buys my personal needs like soap, lotion and shampoo as part of the family consumption . . . Though I work and earn an income, I am not free to live my life . . . I even have a curfew at home. Fe, 21 years old, unmarried office clerk, 2 October 1993

The above quotations from two working women, both in their 20s and unmarried, relate to their contributions to the family income and their decision-making power within the household. They provide a preview of the various uses to which the women put their incomes and the effects those incomes had on their lives. The inter-play of factors affecting the disposal of women's incomes and their decision-making power within the household are explored in this chapter. The literature is first reviewed to show the current state of knowledge about the effects of factory work on women's lives in areas such as economic autonomy and decision-making power within their households. The Mauswagon data are then presented to show how working in general, and factory work in particular, affected the economic autonomy and household decision- making roles of women in the study.

Women's entry into industrial employment often initiates a complex process of change (Afshar, 1985: xi; Heyzer and Kean, 1988: 15). On one hand, women's participation in the industrial workforce signifies an important and probably irreversible change in family relationships and power structures (Jones, 1984: 4). It has been suggested that their participation in the workforce gives women greater autonomy (Piepmeier and Adkins, 1973; Kahne, 1992: 294); increased self-esteem (Rosen, 1987: 168); partial relief from the burden of childbearing (Youssef, 1974: 4); more power in marriage, more self-confidence, better health (Wertz, 1982: 169); liberation, economic independence (Chung Yuen Kay, 1987: 61; Heyzer, 1986: 110); access to a wider range of life experiences and activities (Heyzer, 1986: 110); and stable employment (Momsen and Townsend, 1987a: 277). On the other hand, women's participation in the industrial workforce has been seen to increase their burden (Jelin, 1982: 241; Momsen and Townsend, 1987b: 15-16), making women subordinate, inferior or marginal labour force participants, even while providing new economic opportunities (Heyzer, 1982: 198-199; ILO, 1985: 2; Wong, 1987: 14; ESCAP, 1987: 1; and Selvaratnam, 1988: 86). Research shows no consistent association between a married woman's employment and an increase in her power in the family (Glazer, 1984: 177). Indeed, the consequences of the women's entry into the workforce may be ambiguous or multi-faceted (Jones, 1984: 4).

Two main hypotheses, the conservative and progressive, have been presented by the ILO (1985: 83) regarding the impact of multinational factory employment on women's roles and their position in the family in developing countries. The 'conservative' hypothesis suggests that women's entry into wage work has no significant impact on the existing pattern of family-based gender subordination (ILO, 1985: 83; Standing, 1985: 232). According to this hypothesis, women's traditional position of subordination in a patriarchal family remains the same or is even reinforced by their factory work experience, which is basically exploitative. By contrast, the 'progressive' hypothesis suggests that women's role and position in the family and in society changes as a result of factory employment (ILO, 1985: 83). Women have greater power (or are less powerless) as they become more independent and 'modern' in outlook, self-perception and behaviour.

The very presence of a wage must have some impact on the situation of its earners, since a money wage comprises power in itself (Standing, 1985: 232). The ILO (1985: 84) suggested that in developing countries the following changes occur in a working woman's life upon beginning wage employment: she is frequently accorded greater respect - including from members of the extended family; she is relieved of domestic chores that are performed for her by her mother or non-working sisters; and there is greater tolerance among family members of other 'modern' behaviour on her part, such as dating and choosing her own marriage partner. Paid work seems to be an essential step in women breaking out of the isolation of the home and increasing their presence in the public arena and their consciousness about public issues; however, there is still a debate regarding the effects of paid employment on women's status (Safa, 1992: 71). Many women no longer look at their husband as the only head of household or economic provider and working women seem to have a greater role in decision-making (Safa, 1992: 82).

Women's work and women's income: What they bring

There are compelling reasons to be sceptical about the extent to which wage employment per se automatically affects or improves women's situation. Jelin (1982: 241) noted that an improvement in the position of urban women cannot come about only through changes in the labour market and employment opportunities; it also has to involve a shift in their position in the household. The extent to which women gain domestic power by working outside the home depends heavily on the social context. In some cases, women's earnings are controlled by men in the family; thus, women's employment does not always imply real economic independence. A single woman who lives with her parents may feel that her income from her occupation contributes nothing to her power in the household because her father is present and she is considered as a daughter and not an adult (Moses, 1977: 148). Standing (1985: 250) espoused the view that there is no important association between being in employment and being able to influence existing power structures within the household. One explanation given for this, in the case of husbands' and wives' earnings, is that they are reserved for different kinds of consumption (Beneria and Roldan, 1987: 121). Husbands' earnings in Mexico City in the early 1980s covered the basic needs - 'rent, food bills, gas, clothes,

schooling' while wives met the 'so called extras' which are 'simply treats' - buying 'special food' or providing money for the children's Sunday outing (Beneria and Roldan, 1987: 121).

Despite the scepticism regarding the positive outcomes that work and income may bring, some authors argue that women's work and income do make a difference. Women's income may furnish 'a fully applianced kitchen or a summer vacation for their families' or simply pay the bills, but whatever additions they make to family acquisitions, their income gives them increased economic control and added self-esteem (Rosen, 1987: 168). In spite of women's low wages, in nearly all cases, from industrial employment, women's standard of living improves (Garnsey and Paukert, 1987: 25). A consumer society and its material gains are being introduced to the women by factory work (Garnsey and Paukert, 1987: 25).

Several studies have indicated that women's income could made a difference in their lives. From the income that women earned in Sanhsia, Taiwan, during the 1970s, they were able to set aside some money for their education or for small purchases (Kung, 1983: 123). Women's workforce participation and the income they earned also released women from some of their tasks at home in Hongkong (Salaff, 1981: 121) and Taiwan (Kung, 1983: 123) during the 1970s. A study by Garnsey and Paukert (1987: 26) on industrial change and women's employment in developed and developing countries from 1960 to 1980, and another by Chung Yuen Kay (1987: 60) in Singapore in 1985, found that women also attained increased personal freedom such that they need not ask permission to spend small amounts on themselves. Some women could choose to buy better quality goods rather than opting for lower quality items because they were less expensive. In Bermondsey the United Kingdom, in the 1960s, women's earnings provided both spending money and a lighter conscience in spending it (Jephcott, 1962: 165). Women's work opened up new opportunities to women in Hongkong in the 1970s through the pocket money it provided and the experiences and friends that the women gained through their work (Salaff, 1981: 121). As a result of their factory employment, married women in Turkey were reported to have attained a considerable degree of power over decision-making in their families (Ecevit, 1991: 77). Thus, for a number of women, paid workforce participation has made significant and fundamental changes to their lives.

Women's and men's monetary contributions at home

It is increasingly accepted that direct monetary earnings do make a difference to the lives of the earners. A paid worker is perceived to make a higher contribution to the household and is therefore given a greater say in household decisions; greater bargaining power can also be attributed to the earner since she or he could withdraw her/his monetary contribution to the household (Joekes, 1987: 21). Thus, employed women in the US in early 1970s were reported to have more power than those who were not employed since they contributed to the family income and gained new knowledge and contacts from their jobs (Moore and Sawhill, 1984: 159). When women work, the need to contribute financially to their families is not the only factor which keeps them at work, 'making that contribution also adds to their personal share of efficiency, autonomy and control' (Rosen, 1987: 167).

Men usually earn more than women. This results from women's secondary status in the labour market. It is generally assumed that married women are supported financially by the family wage earned by their husbands. Thus, women's earnings have often been characterised as 'pin money' by employers, the press and government, as noted by Pennington and Westover (1989: 4) in their study of the hidden workforce in England from 1850 to 1985. It is often assumed that women work not from necessity but to fill in time or to buy luxuries. This argument can also be employed as an excuse for the low wages of women workers.

In spite of the disparity in earnings, women's incomes often support families. Though the concept of 'family wage' is reserved for men as 'head of the family', Heyzer and Kean (1988: 17) claimed that it is seldom that only men 'support families' in many countries in Asia. Usually it is the wages of both women and men together that sustain the household, especially in poor families. Women's income was considered essential for many households in the UK in the 1980s (Bagilhole, 1994: 7) and Mauritius in the late 1970s (Anker and Hein, 1986: 42).

In absolute terms, the amounts contributed by men are sometimes greater than those of women. However, if the proportion of the contribution is examined in relation to the overall earnings, as found in South India, Kerala and Tamil Nadu in early 1980s, men's

contribution is much lower than women's (Mencher, 1988: 113). Single women factory workers in Mauritius gave on average nearly half of their earnings to their families (Anker and Hein, 1986: 42), while in Morocco single women factory workers gave more of their earnings to the family than did their brothers (Joekes, 1985: 206).

Men also tend to withhold more of their income for personal use than women (Mencher, 1988: 114), even where the overall income is clearly insufficient (Dwyer and Bruce, 1988: 11). Many men in Morocco (Joekes, 1985: 206) and in Queretaro, Mexico, (Chant, 1987: 288) retained their earnings for themselves; hence, according to Chant (1987: 288) they are often perceived as undependable economic contributors to the family budget. In Brazil in the early 1980s, although women referred to themselves as 'helping out' and 'supplementing' their husband's income, the truth was that their contributions were often more basic and significant (Humphrey, 1987: 71). Women in Cairo in the 1980s often did not distinguish between the family's needs and their personal needs; for women, communal expenditures in their households and their children's needs were prioritised (Hoodfar, 1988: 142). A man's contribution to the household in South India, Kerala and Tamil Nadu was found to be variable and usually based on his income rather than the needs of the family (Mencher, 1988: 114).

Women's role as money managers

By long standing tradition, women in Indonesia are the money managers of the family (Dwyer and Bruce, 1988: 11). Indonesian women are believed to be good at it; thus, they play a significant role in household financial management (Papanek and Schwede, 1988: 71). According to Garcia (1980: 125) in the Philippines, women hold the purse strings and organise the family budget. This position is usually perceived as the role through which Filipino women exercise great power over the rest of the family (Montiel and Hollsteiner, 1976: 14). However, the money holder in a subsistence-level family actually possesses very little power because, from the small amount to be handled, each centavo is already programmed for a definite purpose (Montiel and Hollsteiner, 1976: 15).

The distinction between financial management and financial control needs to be better recognised (Baxter, 1992: 102), since this determines whether purse-string holders indeed wield power. The management of finances involves the handling of money to

purchase food, clothing and other household goods, and to pay household bills, while the control of finances refers to decisions about how income is to be used. Women may have a notable role in financial management, while having little control over financial decisions (Baxter, 1992: 102).

Perceptions about gender roles may be a factor in the assignment of responsibility for financial management and financial control. In the Philippines, such perceptions have produced an unequal situation in household decision-making, since major decisions depend upon the male household head while women are entrusted with the responsibility of managing the household budget and assigning household tasks (Floro, 1992: 5). Filipino wives are generally acknowledged to be the major decision-makers in matters pertaining to the family budget (Licuanan, 1987: 160), but their real control over the allocation of income may actually be very limited.

Caution should be exercised in concluding that women and men are equal in terms of decision-making within the household. Petty and critical decisions may be mixed together, so that decision-making appears to be more balanced or equal than it actually is (Glazer, 1984: 178). In an Australian study conducted in 1986, Baxter (1993: 38) found that control over important financial decisions (such as purchasing a car, or buying a house), usually a male domain, is quite different from control over spending on food and clothes, typically identified as a female domain. Major expenditures tend to be decided by husbands while wives budgeted rather than directing the diverse types of expenditures. In Mexico City in the early 1980s, women were also subject to restrictions since husbands often had final powers of veto on all types of spending (Beneria and Roldan, 1987: 121).

Due to their lack of control, a woman's managerial role may be 'fraught with problems and anxiety' (Beneria and Roldan (1987: 120). To what degree can a wife's role in administering a very restricted fund of money, already mainly committed to indispensable basics, be recognised as an indication of control? Husbands as financial controllers do not retreat from the scene after remitting their share, but continue to exert control. In the late 1970s in Bangkok, men's main argument for control over the money was that they had worked so hard to earn it and it was the fruit of their own efforts (Thorbek, 1987: 112).

Women as income-earners: The Mauswagon case

This section examines the income of women in Mauswagon, how it was used, and whether it made a difference in their lives and to their position in the household. The following questions were asked in the Survey: How much was their gross and net income every month? How much was their husband's gross and net income every month? Who was the main breadwinner in the household? Who were the other income earners? Did other family members contribute money for household expenses? If yes, who kept the money? Women and men were also asked what their incomes were used for. Questions were also asked about who decides on the daily expenses, other expenses and the purchase of goods which cost P3000 or more. In addition to the data generated from the Survey, in-depth interviews were conducted. Observations were also made of family interactions during visits to the women's households. A triangulation technique was employed to verify the validity of the answers given during the Survey. Differences in answers were noted, especially in relation to decision-making, and these were further explored during the in-depth interviews.

Factory women in Mauswagon earned more than their non-factory counterparts (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). As explained in Chapter 2, non-factory workers included teachers and clerks working in both the government and private sectors, as well as *pink-collar workers*[1]. No factory worker earned less than P2,000 per month (Table 5.1). Among the women included in the study, never-married women who were non-factory workers earned the least. More than one-third (35 per cent) of them earned a gross income of P2,000 or less. More than half (56 per cent) of never-married and 58 per cent of ever-married non-factory workers earned a gross income between P2,001 to 4,000, while half of the never-married and 44 per cent of ever-married factory workers earned between P4,001 to 6,000. Almost a third of factory workers, 30 per cent of never-married and 32 per cent of ever-married earned a gross income of P6,000 and above.

Factory workers explained that during heavy canning periods they could earn a gross income ranging from P4,000 to 7,000 and above per month due to longer hours of work which were considered as overtime. They normally worked an eight-hour shift and if

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[1] *Pink-collar workers* are workers in the service sector such as waitresses, hairdressers, attendants and salespersons.

they worked more than eight hours, they were paid overtime. The research period fell during the heavy canning months, when the supply of pineapples was abundant. The evening shift workers usually returned home at around 5:00 a.m. the following morning, but during heavy canning days the women I interviewed said that 'the time out is until knock-out' which means that they worked until all the pineapples scheduled for that shift had been processed.

Table 5.1. Gross income per month of never-married and ever-married women by work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category of never-married women	
gross income (P)	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**
2000 and below	0	35
2001 to 4000	20	56
4001 to 6000	50	6
6001 and above	30	2
total	100	100
mean	6,603	2,700
number	50	48

	work category of ever-married women	
gross income (P)	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**
2000 and below	0	14
2001 to 4000	24	58
4001 to 6000	44	20
6001 and above	32	8
total	100	100
mean	5,819	3,674
number	50	50

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps.

The net take-home pay for both factory and non-factory workers was quite low compared to their gross income because of various deductions (Figure 5.2). Never-married non-factory women received the lowest take-home pay among the women studied. The majority of factory workers had a take-home pay ranging from P1,001 to 2,000 per month. A little more than a quarter (26 per cent) of the ever-married factory workers had a take-home pay of P1,000 and below. Among the ever-married non-factory workers, 30 per cent and 10 per cent had a net income between P2,001 to 3,000

and P3,001 and above, respectively. These percentages were higher than for their ever-married factory worker counterparts.

Table 5.2. Net income per month of never-married and ever-married women by work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

net income	work category of never-married women	
	factory worker	non-factory worker
1000 and below	6	53
1001 to 2000	54	31
2001 to 3000	34	14
3001 and above	6	2
total	100	100
mean	2,066	1,242
number	50	49

net income	work category of ever-married women	
	factory worker	non-factory worker
1000 and below	26	20
1001 to 2000	52	40
2001 to 3000	22	30
3001 and above	0	10
total	100	100
mean	1,478	1,825
number	50	50

Note: Net income is defined as gross income less income tax and deductions made at the workplace.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps.

A list of possible uses of income was provided in the Survey questionnaire, such as meeting day-to-day expenditures at home, purchasing goods for *personal needs* (luxury items for self but not the needs for the entire family), paying electricity bills, and saving money out of the income. Respondents were asked to rank the list according to priority. They were also asked to include in the list any uses of their income which were not in the list. Although very few were added, payment of loans was originally not included in the list and was added. During the coding the rest of the additional items mentioned were later re-classified under the major categories of uses on the original list.

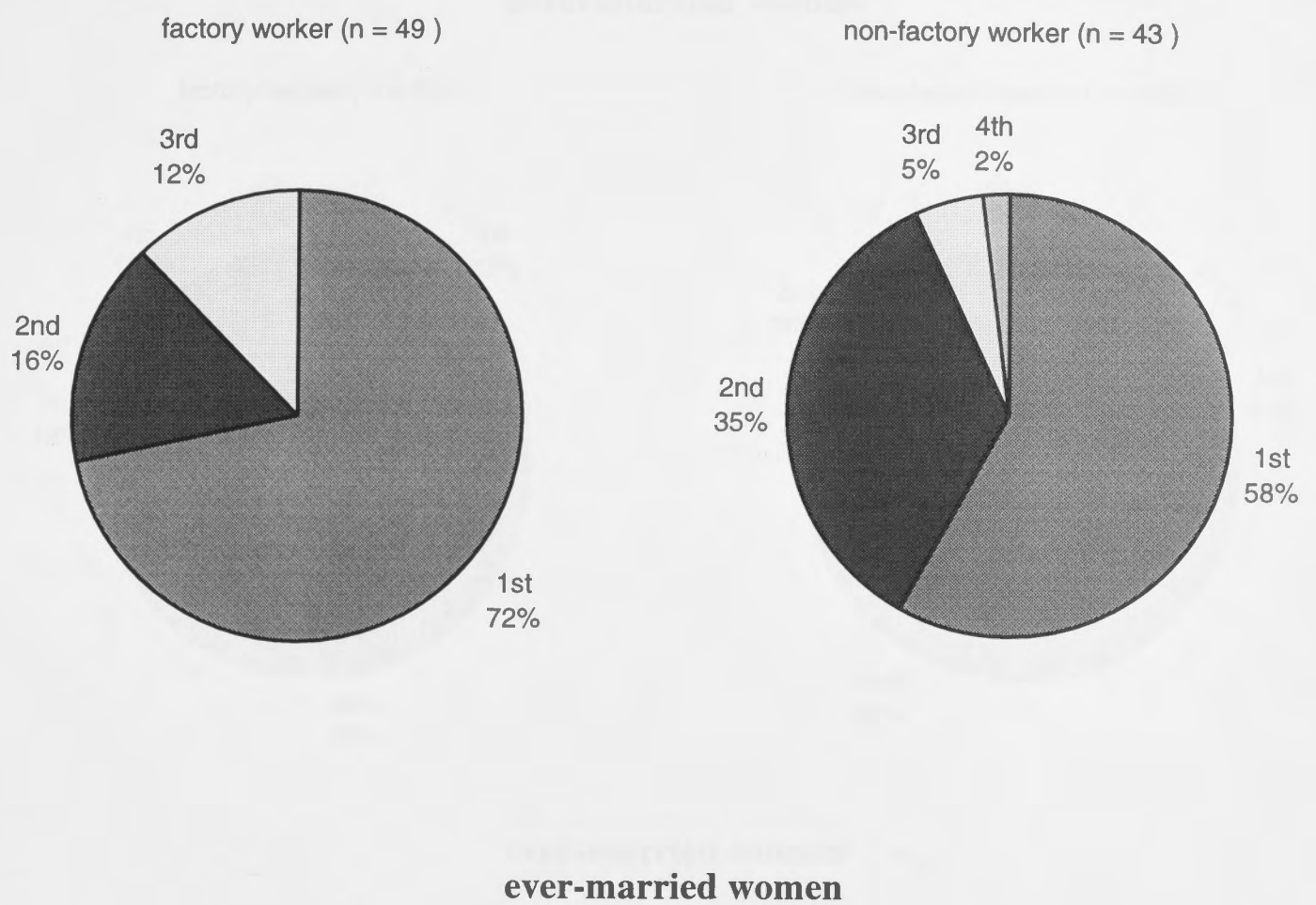
Meeting the day-to-day needs of the family was ranked as the first priority use of working women's incomes by most women (Figure 5.1). Almost all of the ever-married factory and non-factory workers reported that their incomes went into buying daily necessities at home. More never-married factory workers (71 per cent) than never-

married non-factory workers (58 per cent) said that their income went into daily expenses.

Meeting personal needs was not a priority use for incomes for ever-married factory or non-factory workers (Figure 5.2). Among the ever-married factory workers slightly more than half (53 per cent) gave it fourth priority, while non-factory workers gave it as third or fourth priorities (39 per cent and 29 per cent) respectively. More never-married non-factory than factory workers gave meeting personal needs a high priority: 40 per cent of the non-factory and a quarter of the factory workers gave it first priority.

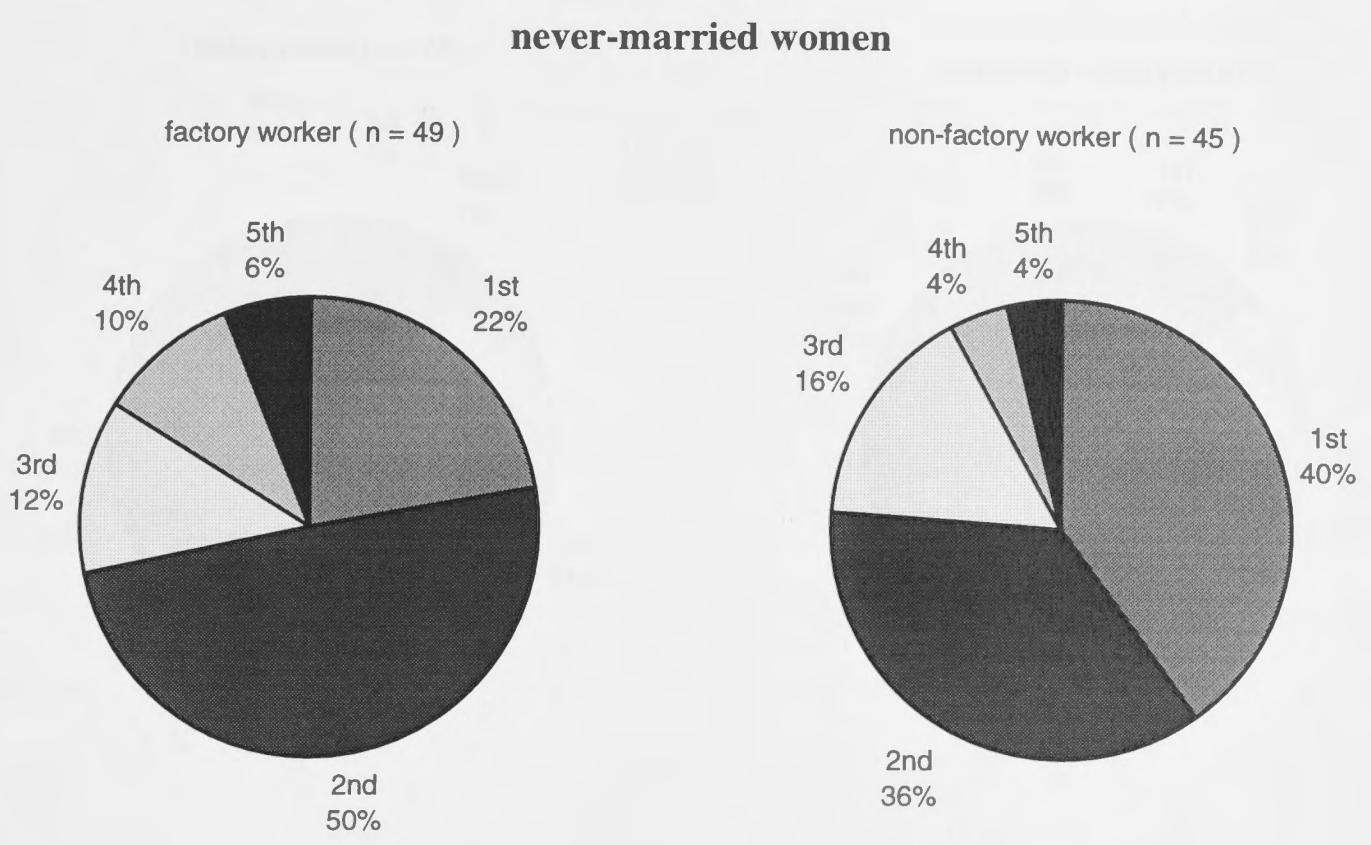
In the in-depth interviews, I learned that on one hand, never-married women factory workers' incomes were depended upon for the family upkeep. During the interviews, the majority of never-married women factory workers ranked meeting their respective families' daily needs as the highest priority use of their incomes. Hence, meeting their personal needs was actually not the first priority use of their incomes. On the other hand, due to the meagreness of the incomes of never-married women non-factory workers, their incomes could not provide the major part of the day-to-day needs of their households.

Figure 5.1. Ranking of daily expenses as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls.

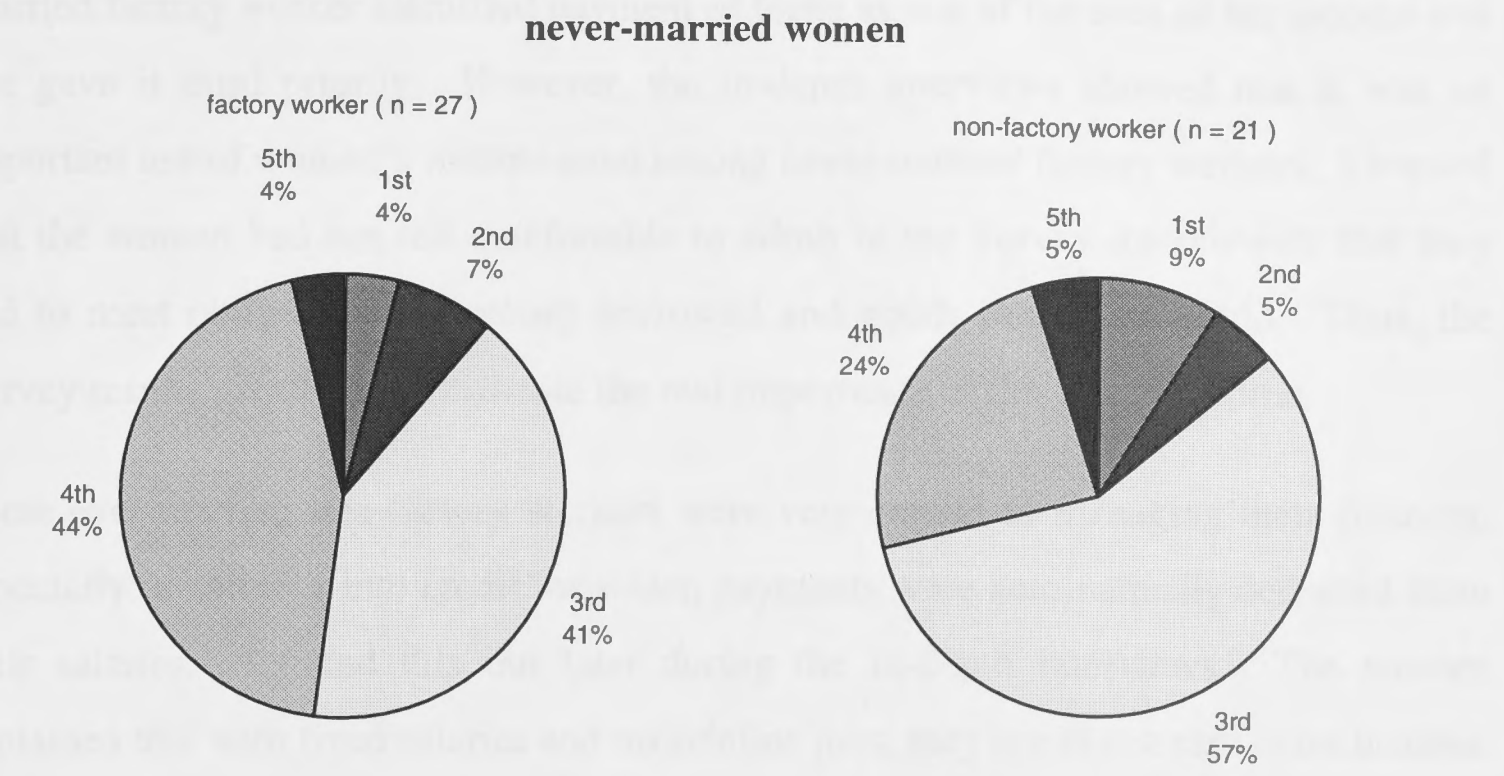
Figure 5.2. Ranking of purchase of personal needs as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.2, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls.

Saving from their incomes was also not a priority use of working women's incomes (Figure 5.3). Only a fifth to slightly more than a quarter of the working women in each work category by marital status reported that saving money out of their income was one of the priority uses of their incomes (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3. Ranking of savings as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.3, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls.

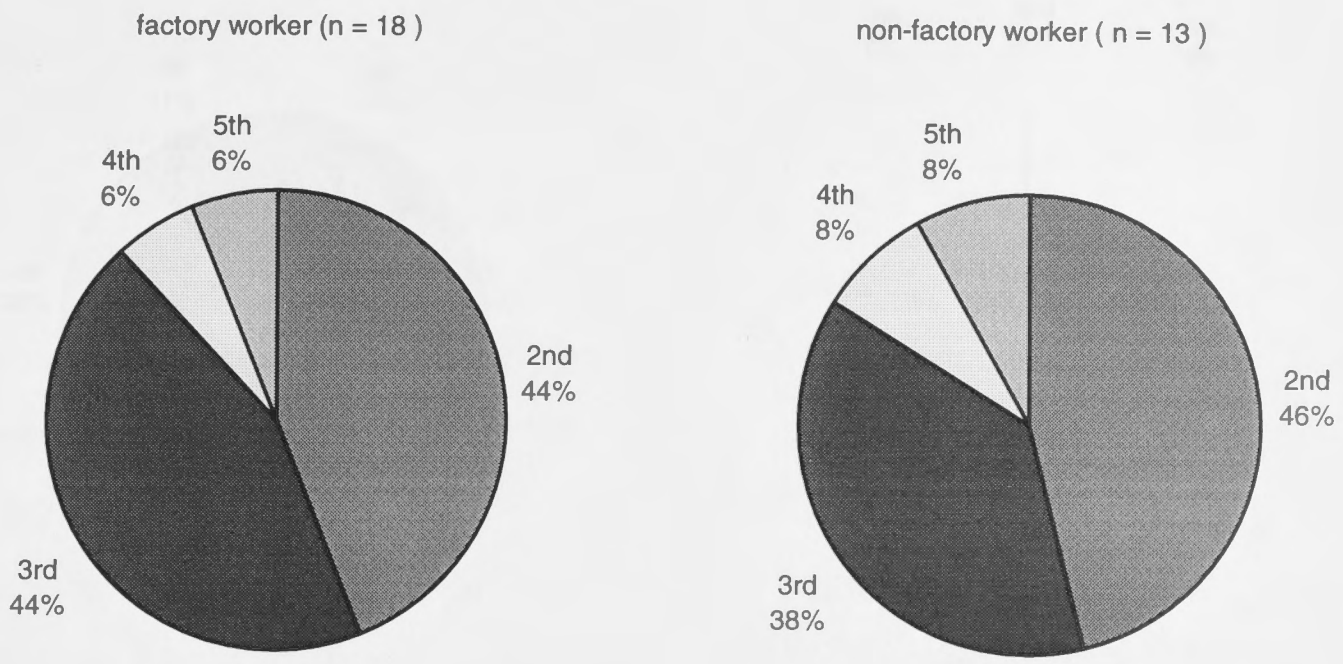
More ever-married working women than never-married working women identified payment of electricity as one of the priority uses of their incomes (Figure 5.4). Payment of loans and for goods bought on credit was not a high priority for either never-married or ever-married factory workers (Figure 5.5), although qualitative research showed that deductions for loan repayments accounted for much of the difference between gross and

net pay (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). Less than 10 women in each working and marital status category identified payment of loans as a priority use of their incomes. Only one never-married factory worker identified payment of loans as one of the uses of her income and she gave it third priority. However, the in-depth interviews showed that it was an important use of women's income even among never-married factory workers. I learned that the women had not felt comfortable to admit to the Survey interviewers that they had to meet obligations for money borrowed and goods bought on credit. Thus, the Survey results greatly underestimate the real importance of this use of income.

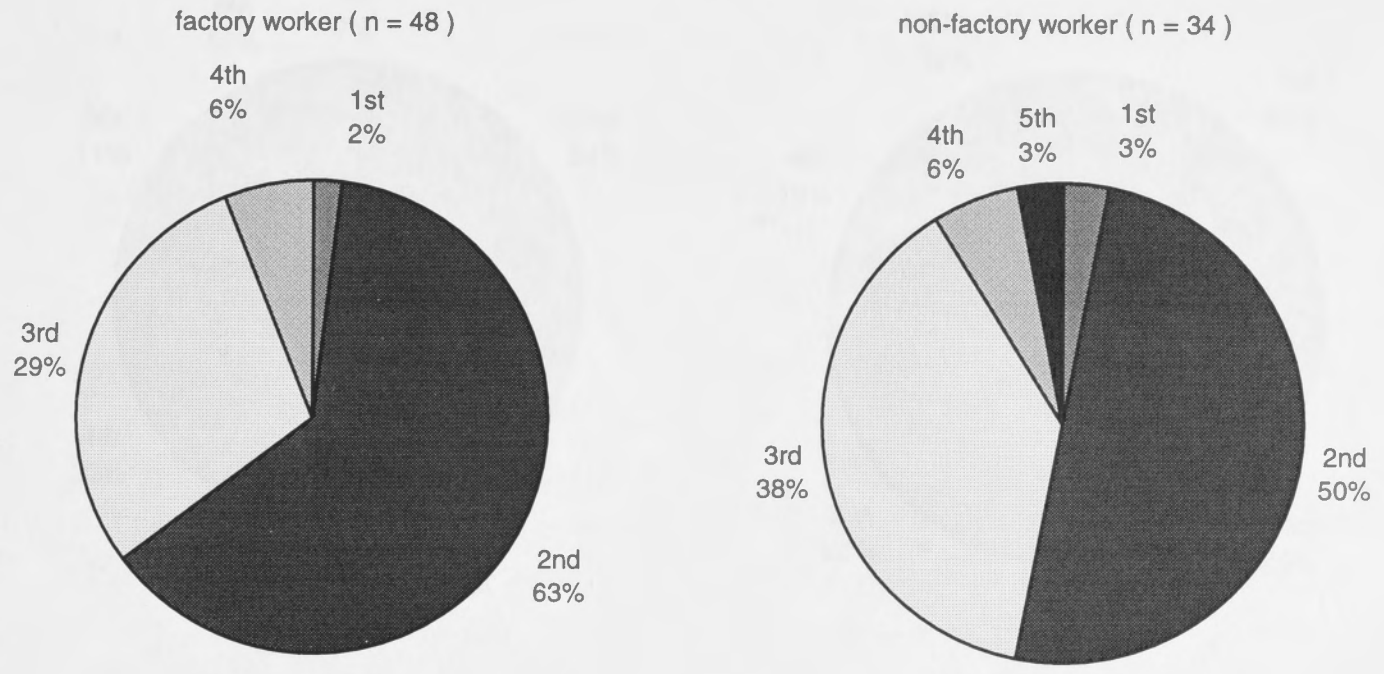
Some ever-married non-factory workers were very careful in managing their finances, especially in entering into credit for which payments were automatically deducted from their salaries. I found this out later during the in-depth interviews. The women explained that with fixed salaries and no sideline jobs, they could not earn extra income. However, their needs varied greatly over time. Both never-married and ever-married factory workers tended to avail themselves of the credit facilities available within and outside the factory. They were confident that they could meet their obligations from their earnings at the factory. They could also earn extra money through overtime, especially during heavy canning. Exceptions were a few women who were the sole breadwinners in their households and who thus faced particular difficulties in making ends meet. These women were reluctant to use credit

Figure 5.4. Ranking of payment of electricity bills as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

never-married



ever-married



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.4, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls.

Figure 5.5. Ranking of payment of loan(s) as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.5, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls.

During the in-depth interviews, some never-married non-factory workers reported being 'in the red', spending more than they earned. Their fortnightly pay did not even last till the next pay-day. They either borrowed from friends or requested a cash advance from their wages. Some saleswomen in department stores also bought goods on credit. As a

result, they received little on pay-day because of the deductions. The non-factory workers jokingly told me that they no longer depended on their earnings but depended on credits and loans for their survival because not much was left from their wages. However, their regular wage income was the essential guarantee for creditors who allowed them to borrow money or buy goods on credit.

In theory, the factory workers also faced the prospect of not receiving any pay packet after all deductions were made. However, QFI management ruled that, after all deductions, there should be at least P450 left in each pay packet. The factory workers also borrowed from their credit cooperative. Some had opted for an automatic deduction to increase the amount of their cooperative contribution, which also served as automatic savings. Most of the factory workers involved in my study were in the 5-6 Loan Scheme. This entailed 20 percent interest on the money the factory workers borrowed every month. Its title came from the fact that for every P5 borrowed the amount to be repaid would be P6. Factory workers reported that at times they paid more than triple the original amount borrowed. Some defaulted on paying in a month or two months and would opt to pay only the interest.

A visitor to a household of a woman who worked at QFI could readily notice the Tupperware products, home appliances and other possessions that normally were not affordable for other workers on lower incomes, even if those goods were bought on credit. An example was Nora. Nora proudly told me that her yearly bonus enabled her to buy the six-cubic-foot refrigerator that her family owned. She boasted :

> I did not tell my husband about it because if I had he would have vetoed the idea. 'Since I am the one in charge of the food and cooking, I felt the need for a refrigerator. Furthermore, it saves my time in going to the market less often. It is a big help considering the very limited time I have. When the 'ref' was delivered my husband grumbled. I put my foot down and said it was my bonus that paid the down payment; the balance was paid through monthly instalments. I bought most of the decorations in the house, such as the plastic flowers and vases. I also had a share in buying the *sala* set (lounge suite) that we own.

In addition to their aesthetics, use and comfort value, these possessions can also be seen to have symbolic meaning. The acquisition of these tangible material benefits by women is a manifestation of their power, since they are 'physical representations of personal accomplishments' (Rosen, 1987: 98).

Non-factory workers and even the factory workers themselves described factory workers as *isog mosukol sa utang,* which means 'not afraid borrow or buy goods on credit'. This is because the factory workers were assured that they had the capacity to pay from their income from the factory. However, at times some went on a credit spree, and then had to borrow from the 5-6 Loan Scheme just to re-pay money borrowed or pay for goods bought on credit. In extreme cases, women had to borrow from one 5-6 Loan Scheme to pay for another 5-6 Loan Scheme.

Husbands of non-factory workers generally earned more than other husbands of women in the study. More than a quarter (27 per cent) of the husbands of non-factory workers earned between P2,001 and 4,000 but more than half (54 per cent) earned more than P6,000 per month. There were about two cases of non-factory workers whose husbands were working as executives in one of the multi-national companies located in another town. They were earning almost P20,000 per month. The gross and net income of husbands classified according to their wives' work category are shown in Table 5.3. Almost a third (32 per cent) of the husbands of factory workers and less than a fifth (17 per cent) of the husbands of homemakers earned a gross income between P4,001 to 6,000. However, the majority (71 per cent) of the husbands of homemakers and slightly more than half (57 per cent) of the husbands of factory workers had a net income of P2,000 and below. The average annual family income in the Philippines in 1991 was P65,186 or approximately P5,450 per month (National Statistics Coordination Board, 1994: 2-10). Most households of ever-married homemakers in Mauswagon had single earners, usually the husband. Households of ever-married women factory and non-factory workers which had two income-earners were relatively better-off than the households of ever-married homemakers which had single income-earners.

Table 5.3. Gross and net incomes of husbands by their wives' work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

husbands' gross income	work category of ever-married women		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
2,000 or less	7	10	19
2,001 to 4,000	23	27	23
4,001 to 6,000	32	10	17
6,001 and above	39	54	42
total	100	100	100
mean	6,071	6,729	5,476
number	44	41	48

husbands' net income	work category of ever-married women		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
2,000 or less	57	47	71
2,001 to 4000	38	26	27
4,001 and above	5	26	2
total	100	100	100
mean	2,208	2,860	1,664
number	40	38	45

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps.

Husbands generally earned more than their working wives (Table 5.4). Although seven per cent of the husbands of factory workers earned P2,000 or less, 39 per cent of them earned P6,000 and above. Some women earned more than their husbands. These were the women factory workers whose husbands worked outside the factory but not in professional or technical jobs. The income difference between husbands and wives was more pronounced among the non-factory workers. More than half of their husbands earned more than P6,000 per month. Women non-factory workers earned less compared to the factory workers, including those who were in professional jobs such as teaching. That was why the disparity of earnings between husbands and wives was more pronounced among women non-factory workers. Almost half (48 per cent) of the husbands of non-factory workers were also working outside the factory while slightly more than half of the husbands of factory workers (52 per cent) and homemakers (54 per cent) were factory workers. More than half of the husbands of non-factory workers who were non-factory workers themselves were engaged in professional and technical jobs, for example as engineers, teachers, and accountants.

Table 5.4. Gross income per month of ever-married women and their husbands by women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

gross income	factory worker	husband
2,000 or less	0	7
2,001 to 4000	24	23
4,001 to 6000	44	32
6,001 and above	32	39
total	100	100
mean	5,819	6,071
number	50	44

gross income	non-factory worker	husband
2,000 or less	14	10
2,001 to 4000	58	27
4,001 to 6,000	20	10
6,001 and above	8	54
total	100	100
mean	3,674	6,729
number	50	41

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps.

Very few never-married factory workers received more than P8,000 gross monthly income and none received less than P2,000 gross monthly income (Table 5.5). Male household members in never-married working women's households were either fathers, brothers or other relatives. Although 23 per cent of the men in never-married factory workers' households received less than P2,000 gross monthly income, a fifth of them received more than P8,000 gross monthly income.

The disparity in income between women and men was also more pronounced in the households of never-married women non-factory workers. More than a quarter (28 per cent) of the men in never-married non-factory workers' household and more than a third of women non-factory workers received less than P2,000 gross income per month. Only six per cent of never-married women non-factory workers and 15 per cent of the men in their households received more than P8,000 per month gross income.

Most never-married factory workers received higher gross incomes than the men residing in their households. Half of the never-married factory workers and a little more

a fifth (23 per cent) of the men in their households received a gross monthly income of more than P4,001. While only six per cent of the never-married factory women earned a gross income of P8,001 or more, a fifth of the men residing in never-married women's households earned P8,001 or more. Although a fifth of the men in never-married factory women's households received more than P8,000 per month, a greater proportion of the men received lower incomes than the never-married factory workers as a whole.

Table 5.5. Gross income per month of never-married women and men in their households by women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

gross income	factory worker	household member
2,000 or less	0	23
2,001 to 4000	20	28
4,001 to 6000	50	23
6,001 to 8000	24	5
8,001 and above	6	20
total	100	100
mean	6,063	5,323
number	50	39

gross income	non-factory worker	household member
2,000 or less	35	28
2,001 to 4,000	56	28
4,001 to 6,000	6	18
6,001 to 8,000	0	12
8,001 and above	2	15
total	100	100
mean	2,700	5,187
number	48	40

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, men.sys, manmarel.sps.

Men in never-married women homemakers' households earned higher incomes than the men in the households of factory and non-factory workers (Table 5.6). Perhaps this could be attributed to the fact that more men (52 per cent) in never-married women homemakers' households were factory workers compared to never-married women factory (40 per cent) and never-married women non-factory (30 per cent) workers' households. Men working in the factory earned higher incomes compared to men in other occupations except those who occupied managerial positions in other multi-

national companies. Only 11 per cent earned a gross monthly income less than P2,000 while 23 per cent of the men in factory workers' and 28 per cent of non-factory workers' households earned gross monthly incomes less than P2,000. Almost a quarter (24 per cent) of the men in never-married homemakers' households received more than P8,000 gross monthly income.

Fewer men (7 per cent) in ever-married factory workers' households received less than P2,000 gross monthly income than in the households of non-factory workers (13 per cent) and homemakers (16 per cent).

Table 5.6. Gross income per month of men in women's households by work category of women and marital status, Mauswagon 1993 (percentage)

gross income (P)	work category of never-married women		
	men in factory women's households	men in non-factory women's households	men in home-makers's households
2,000 or less	23	28	11
2,001 to 4,000	28	28	20
4,001 to 6,000	23	18	33
6,001 to 6,000	5	12	11
8,001 and above	20	15	24
total	100	100	100
mean	5,323	5,188	5,680
number	39	40	45

gross income (P)	work category of ever-married women		
	men in factory women's households	men in non-factory women's households	men in home-makers's households
2,000 or less	7	13	16
2,001 to 4,000	29	22	16
4,001 to 6,000	22	18	26
6,001 to 8,000	15	22	28
8,001 and above	27	24	14
total	100	100	100
mean	6,169	6,382	5,844
number	45	45	50

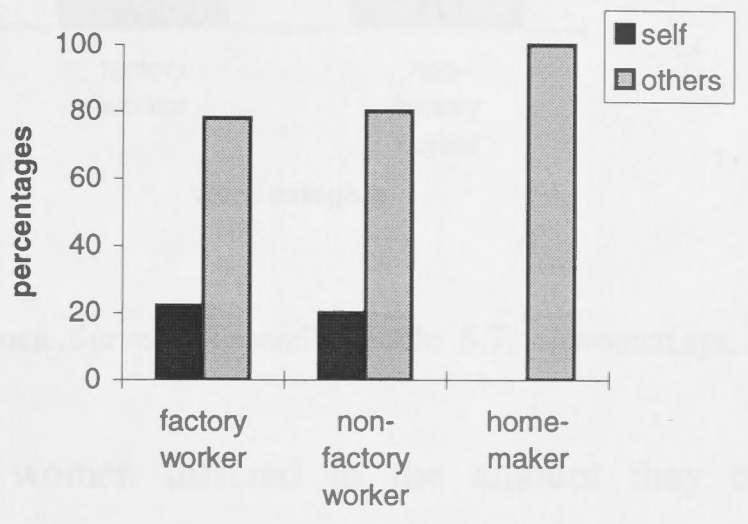
Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

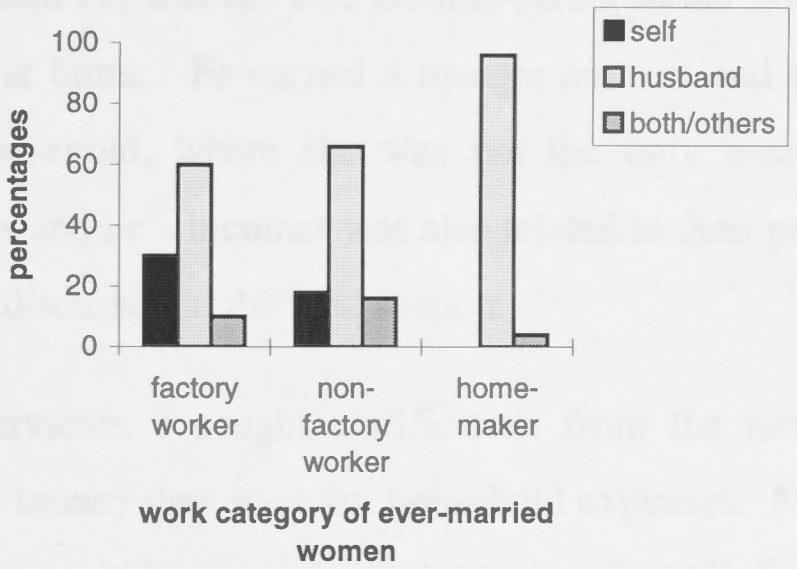
Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, men.sys, manmarel.sps.

The majority of the women identified men as the main breadwinners in their households (Figure 5.6): for never-married women this was either their father or brother, and for

ever-married women their husbands. Among working women, 20 per cent of factory and non-factory workers and around 30 per cent of ever-married factory workers identified themselves as main breadwinners. The majority of the working women (factory and non-factory workers) identified themselves as supplementary income-earners rather than the main breadwinner. They identified men as the main breadwinner in the household. The few women who identified themselves as main breadwinner also identified themselves as the household head. As described in Chapter 4, five out of eight married women who identified themselves as main breadwinner and household head had husbands who were not engaged in paid work. Their husbands did not earn an income and stayed at home and kept house.

Figure 5.6. The main breadwinner in never-married and ever-married women's households by women's work category (percentage)



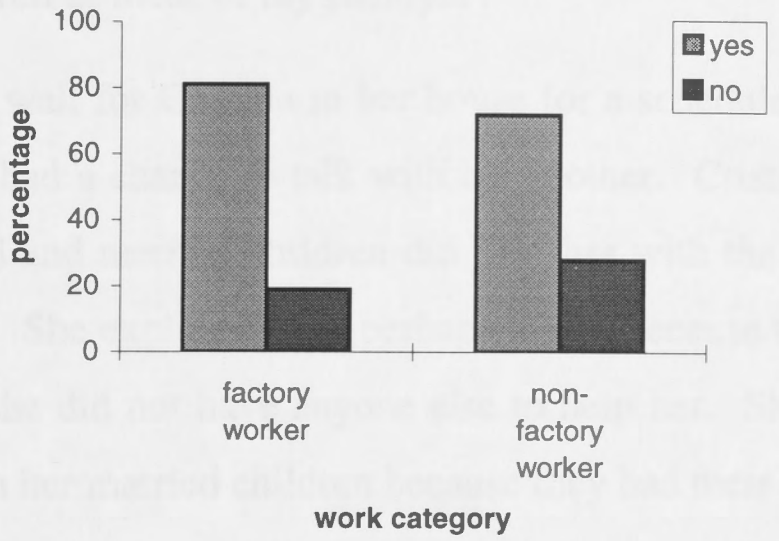


Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.6, allwomen.sys,womwage.sps, ch5.xls.

Money givers and money holders in Mauswagon households

The majority of never-married working women (81 per cent of factory workers and 72 per cent of non-factory workers) contributed to household expenses (Figure 5.7). They not only contributed cash, but also goods for household consumption.

Figure 5.7. Never-married working women contributing to household expenses, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.7, allwomen.sys, womwage.sps, ch5cont.xls.

Never-married working women differed in the amount they contributed to their respective households, as illustrated in the two quotes from Letty, an unmarried factory worker, and Fe, an unmarried non-factory worker, at the beginning of this chapter. Letty, who earned more than Fe, was the sole income-earner in her household and took care of all the expenses at home. Fe earned a meagre amount and paid only for the electricity bill in her household, where she was not the only income-earner. The difference between Letty's and Fe's incomes was also related to their position within the household, which will be discussed in the next section.

During the in-depth interviews, I sought clarification from the never-married non-factory workers about the money they gave for household expenses. Most had reported during the Survey that they could barely make their earnings last till the next pay-day. If this was the case, could they still provide money and goods for household maintenance? Cristina, a 21-year-old salesperson whose father was dead and who was primarily raised by her mother, explained:

> I feel depressed when I cannot give either money or goods to my mother for the household upkeep. I buy our groceries on credit at the department store where I work. Sometimes the amount of goods I buy on credit is greater than the money I earn for the period. I incur debts so I have at times negotiated a loan from my next fortnightly pay. Sometimes, I have already incurred a large debt for the goods I bought on credit so I have to resort to borrowing money from people who lend money with interest. . . It is tiring to work just to pay for the goods bought on credit and for the money borrowed. Upon careful thinking, though, as I lie in bed at night, it is indeed wearisome but at least I can buy goods on credit or borrow money and pay for them from my earnings. The situation would be much worse if I could not buy goods on credit or borrow money for my needs as well as those of my family. . .

One day I had to wait for Cristina in her house for a scheduled appointment. She was running late so I had a chance to talk with her mother. Cristina's mother told me that her never-married and married children did help her with the upkeep and maintenance of the household. She explained that perhaps it was because they knew that since their father was dead she did not have anyone else to help her. She said that she could not expect much from her married children because they had their own families to maintain. Cristina had showed her pay slip to her and there was not much left due to the deductions. She proudly showed me the household furniture and a few appliances that her children bought on instalment from their income and the dining set that Cristina has bought on credit for the household.

Fe, an office clerk, earned an income of P900 every fortnight. Four hundred pesos went for her food and fares for the two weeks. She brought cooked rice to work every day and just bought cooked meat or fish. She made a cash contribution to her household:

> I pay the electricity bills as my contribution at home. This is my only responsibility because my earnings are small. I do not contribute for our food. My mother buys my personal needs like soap, lotion and shampoo. My parents own a passenger *jeepney* that plies from Mauswagon to Cagayan and vice versa. My parents are financially better off these days compared to when we were still in school . . .

I also talked with Fe's mother. She mentioned that she thought Fe should stop working because of the low pay she was receiving. She thought it a waste of time to work the whole day and receive so little in return. Although Fe's contribution did not really amount to much, she and her husband accepted it since, as parents, they felt a joy that their children were trying to give them something. However, she said that they were subsidising Fe's upkeep.

Fe felt that being able to contribute to the upkeep of her household made a difference. She said:

> I think there is a difference if a woman goes out to work from when she just stays at home. I experienced how it was. I don't want to go back to those miserable times when I was out of work and I stayed home. I was often scolded by my parents. I felt useless. I can bear the low pay in my present job rather than face the alternative of quitting and staying home...

Fe admitted that her family could well manage without her monetary contribution. However, she would continue to give them money because she was aware that her mother felt happy, not because of the amount given but because of the gesture of a daughter giving money to her parents from her income. She wanted her parents to feel that their daughter was helping the family, even with a token amount. She realised that it was her parents' source of pride and joy that their children were now giving money to them. She told me that she often overheard her parents boastfully telling neighbours that their children were concerned about them and were contributing to the family's upkeep.

Women were the money holders in most Mauswagon households (Table 5.7). In the case of never-married women, regardless of their work category, their mothers were predominantly those who held the money. In the households of married women, it was usually they who held the money. Never-married factory workers were slightly more likely to be responsible for holding the money given by other household members compared to the non-factory workers and homemakers. Ever-married homemakers were least likely to hold the money given by other household members.

Table 5.7. Person who holds the money given by other household members in women's household by women's work category, Mauswagon 1993 (percentage)

	household of never-married woman by work category		
holds money	**factory workers**	**non-factory workers**	**houseworkers**
self	10	2	4
mother	66	60	56
sister	6	6	10
other	18	32	30
total	100	100	100
number	45	41	43

	household of ever-married women by work category		
holds money	**factory workers**	**non-factory workers**	**houseworkers**
self	74	70	48
others	8	14	8
not applicable	8	6	44
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

Note: Not applicable refers to households where income-earners did not turn-over their incomes to wives but managed the money themseleves.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, allwom.sps.

Baby, a homemaker, related that her husband who was working at QFI turned over all his salary to her (minus the deductions at the factory for credit union shares and other commitments). Their arrangement was as follows:

> I give him his daily allowance. His cigarette and liquor consumption is part of our budget because he buys them on credit at the store. I am the one in charge of paying our debts every pay-day. I believe that husbands should turn over their earnings to their wives. At the marriage ceremony the coins are turned over by the groom to the bride. What is the significance of the marriage rites if husbands won't turn over their earnings to their wives?
>
> She paused, then pensively added, 'At times though I question the wisdom of the arrangement, especially during those times when ends hardly meet. It is so difficult to budget and one must be good at allocations. Wise decisions have to be made about what to buy and what not to'.

There were instances where men gave what they chose and women then tried to manage. In desperation, such women might turn to credit or loans. For example, Nora entered the 5-6 Loan Scheme without her husband's knowledge. Indeed, women tried to manage by themselves without asking advice from their husbands. As a result, many husbands knew little of the coping strategies of their wives.

More factory workers, both never-married and ever-married, reported that they could save from their income compared to their non-factory counterparts. This contradicted their responses during the Survey that not much was left of their net income due to deductions and payments for loans and goods bought on credit. During the in-depth interviews, the women explained that they considered the durable and semi-durable goods that they bought on credit to be part of their savings. Thus, in their understanding there was no contradiction. Instalment payments were deducted on a fortnightly basis, the amount depending on the length of time over which they chose to pay for the goods.

A variety of goods, such as home decorations and appliances, were offered on credit both by 'outsiders' and 'insiders' in the factory. 'Insiders' were QFI workers while 'outsiders' were non-QFI workers. Actually, selling of goods by insiders was not sanctioned by the management. However, they ignored the dealings conducted by factory workers and insiders who were sellers. A credit cooperative store also operated inside the factory compound, selling household goods and other basic needs. Payments were deducted automatically on a fortnightly basis from the payroll. Where the amount was too big for one payment, factory workers wrote to the manager and requested permission to pay in two or more instalments.

The goods sold by the cooperative store and others in the factory were quite expensive compared to the cash price of the same goods from a department store. However, factory workers accepted the higher prices for credit purchases since they could not pay 'spot-cash'.

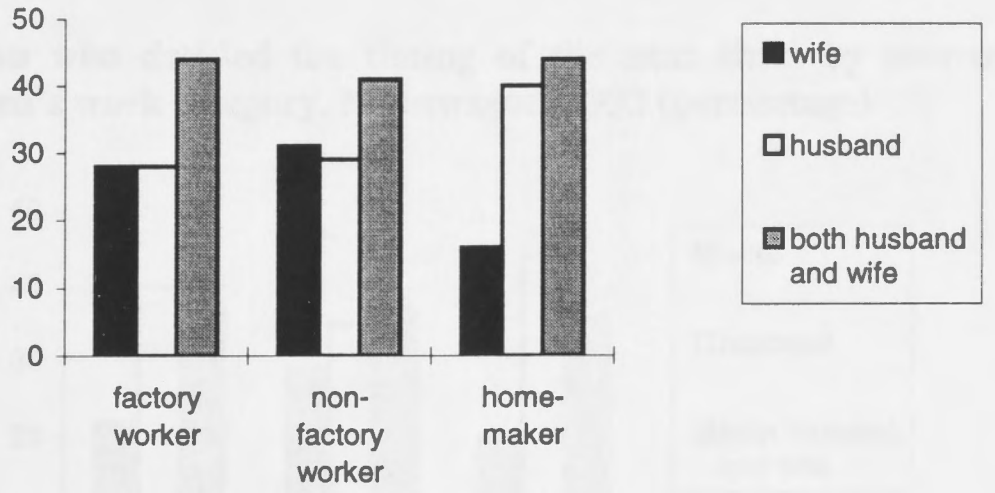
Women's income: Did it make a difference within the household?

This section examines how women viewed their situation, whether they felt that they could command influence within the household, and whether they saw themselves as subservient and followers of another person's will. In the case of married women, this meant subservient to the will of their husbands and in the case of never-married women to that of their parents or other members of the household. The interplay of power and subservience could be manifested in decision-making within the home. Decision-making on who did the housework is included but is dealt with more extensively in Chapter 7.

Women were asked about decisions made in the following areas: fertility and other decisions concerning children, work decisions, choice of friends and relatives, and control of income. They were specifically asked regarding decisions about the number of children wanted, timing of the next child, children's school attendance and choice of school. These topics were chosen because these were areas where I believed women's influence varied considerably. They were also areas that were either related to personal autonomy or to roles traditionally considered to be women's domains.

Approximately 40 per cent of ever-married women (44 per cent of factory workers, 41 per cent of non-factory workers, and 44 per cent of homemakers) reported that both husband and wife equally decided the number of children they would have (Figure 5.8). More non-factory workers (31 per cent) answered that it was mainly the wife, while more homemakers (40 per cent) reported that it was mainly the husband making the decision. Women's work seemed to make a difference since the highest proportion where husbands decided the number of children in the family was for husbands of homemakers.

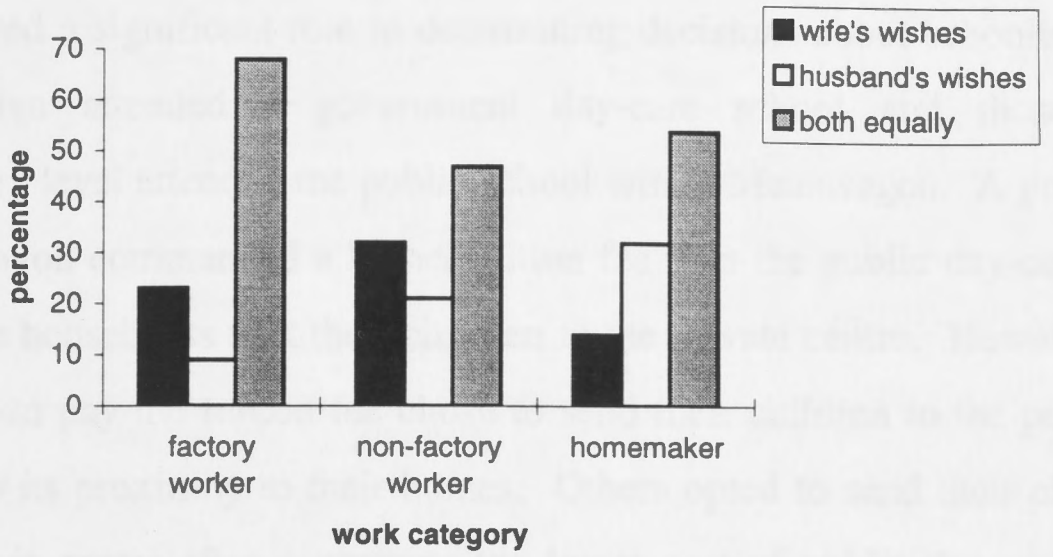
Figure 5.8. Person who decided the number of children in the family by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.8, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls.

Those who answered that both husband and wife decided were asked whose wishes prevailed in the end. Around half still insisted that the decision was negotiated by both husband and wife (Figure 5.9), suggesting that it was an egalitarian decision, rather than one where one decision-maker prevailed. A higher percentage of homemakers (32 per cent) than factory workers (9 per cent) and non-factory workers (21 per cent) reported that the husband's wishes prevailed in the end.

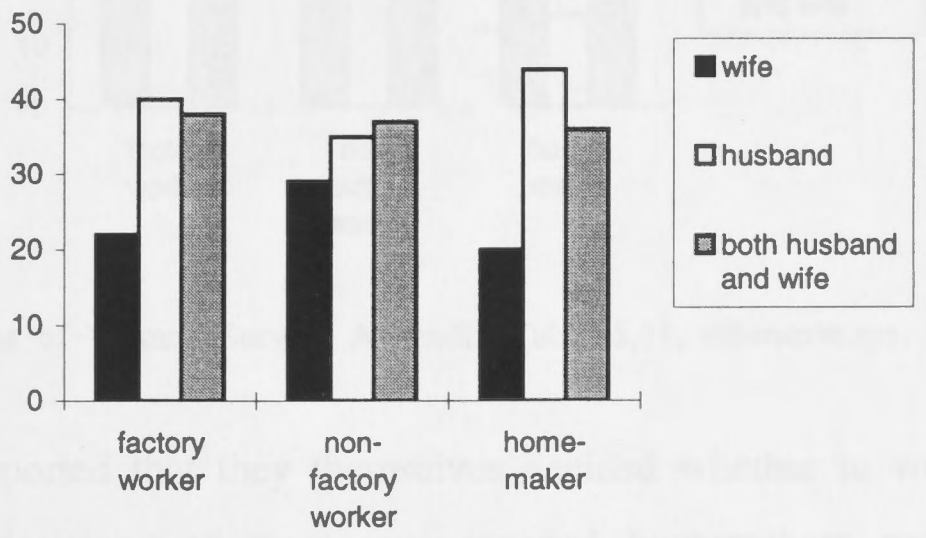
Figure 5.9. If both decided, whose decision prevailed on the number of children in the family by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)?



Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.9, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Almost 40 per cent of all women reported that both husband and wife decided the timing of the next child (Figure 5.10). Fewer homemakers (20 per cent) reported that they decided the timing of the next child. It could be that timing of the next child was less of an issue for homemakers than for working women who faced role conflict. However, it could remain an economic issue, especially for husbands who were sole breadwinners.

Figure 5.10. Person who decided the timing of the next child by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

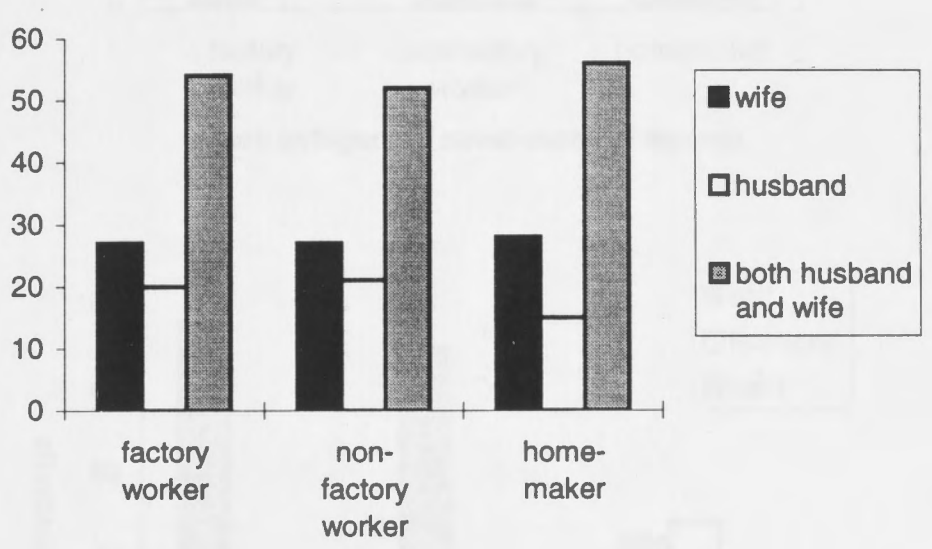


Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.10, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls.

Around half of the women claimed that both husband and wife decided on whether children should be sent to school and to which school (Figure 5.11). Homemakers reported the lowest percentage (15 per cent) of husbands deciding on their children's

schooling. More than a quarter reported that they decided themselves. I learned later during the in-depth interviews that the proximity of the school to home, as well as its affordability, played a significant role in determining decisions about schooling. Most pre-school children attended a government day-care school and those at the primary/elementary level attended the public school within Mauswagon. A private pre-school in Mauswagon commanded a higher tuition fee than the public day-care centre. Some two-income households sent their children to the private centre. However, some who could afford to pay the tuition fee chose to send their children to the public day-care centre due to its proximity to their homes. Others opted to send their children to the private day-care centre after comparing the lower cost of public day-care and the higher cost of fares to get there. I also discovered from the in-depth interviews that women's greater role in the schooling decisions of children was largely due to the fact that this was considered a 'female' concern; hence men's lack of interest in the decision.

Figure 5.11. Person who decided whether child(ren) attend school and which school by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

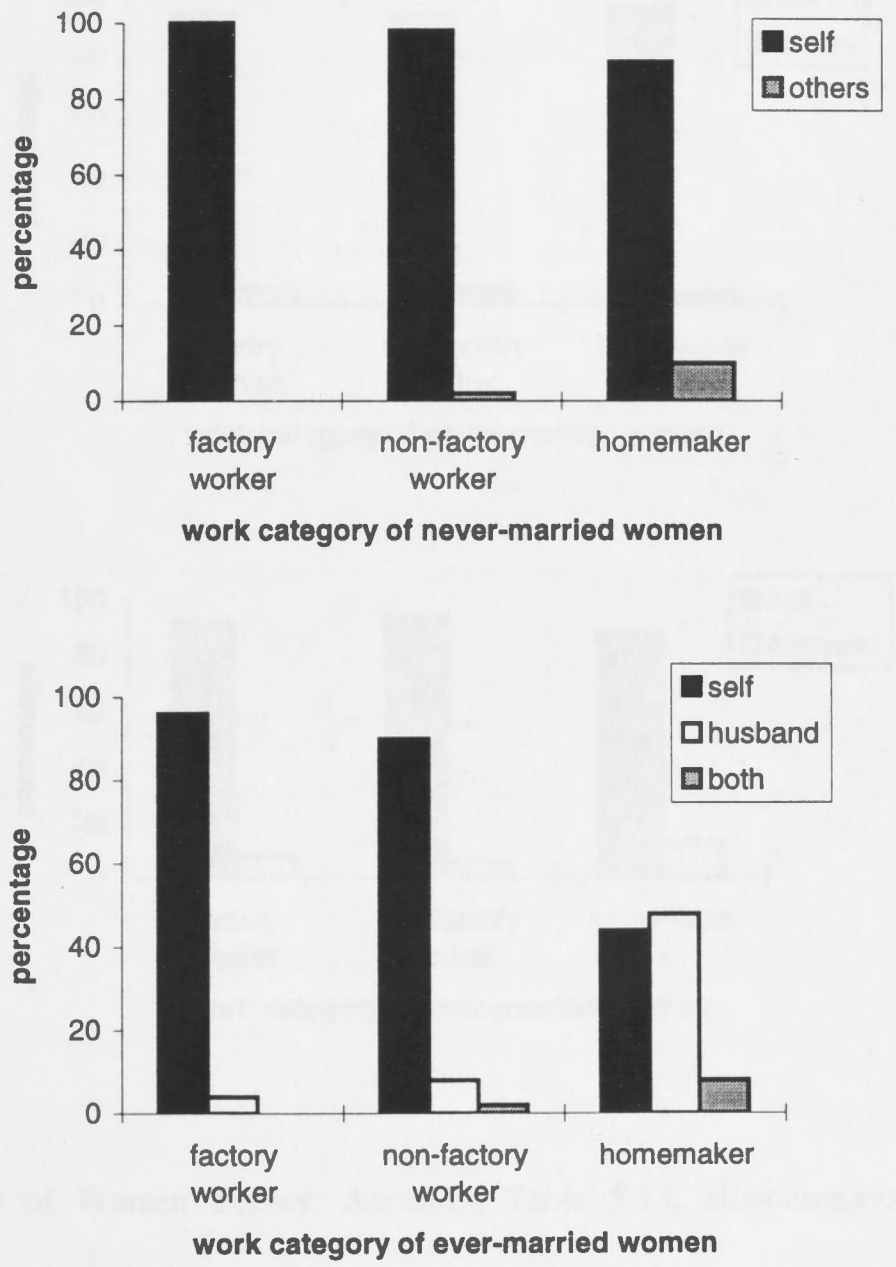


Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.11, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls.

Most women reported that they themselves decided whether to work (Figure 5.12). However, the decisions of many ever-married homemakers were influenced by husbands. Almost half (48 per cent) of the married homemakers answered that it was their husbands who decided that they would not work. For most never-married homemakers, the availability of jobs rather than other people's influence determined that they remained at home (except for a few cases who were sick and advised to rest). Most men (except for some husbands of homemakers) did not disapprove of their wives

and daughters working for income. On the contrary, some encouraged women to earn money. However, that approval carried an assumption that the women would continue to take care of the household or arrange for it to be taken care of. Husbands did not arrange for child care when both parents worked, even when there was no live-in house help. For example, when Nora's husband who was also a factory worker working on shifts, was assigned to day-shift, she arranged for her younger unmarried sister to look after her youngest son aged two. Her younger sister lived a few houses away with their parents; she not only cared for the boy but also looked after the house and washed the clothes. For this, Nora paid her monthly.

Figure 5.12. Person who decided whether women work by women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

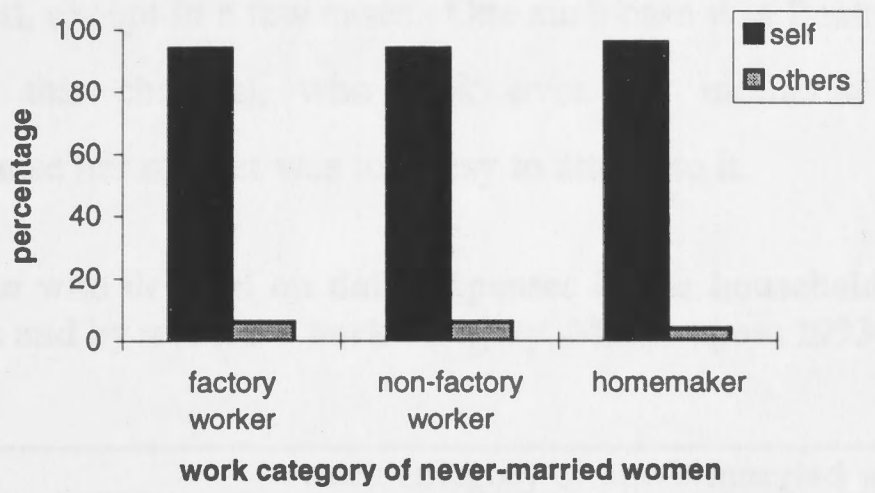


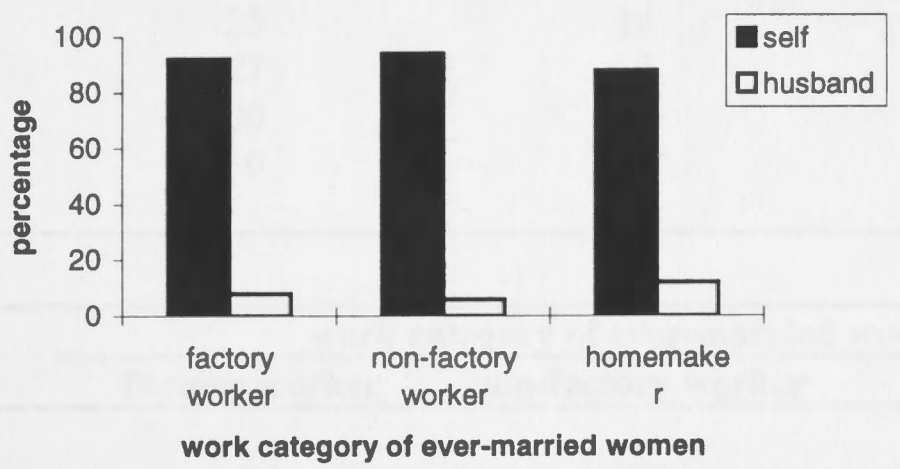
Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.12, allwomen.sys, allwom.sps, ch5dec.xls.

Most women decided for themselves which friends or relatives they would go out with (Figure 5.13). However, in some cases husbands or parents had preferences about whom their wives or daughters associated with. Women could either defy these

preferences or avoid trouble by going out with those whom their husbands or parents preferred. Some noted that husbands or parents could not really monitor their whereabouts all the time. Unknown to their husbands or parents, many did go out with people considered undesirable company for them. The reasons for such preferences by parents and husbands ranged from the friends being considered bad influences to the fear that daughters would not attend to the housework once they were in the company of these people. Jealous husbands also feared that women whom they regarded as 'loose' would influence their wives to be unfaithful to them.

Figure 5.13. Person who decided whom women should go out with by women's work category and marital category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)





Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.13, allwomen.sys, allwom.sps, ch5dec.xls.

Very few never-married women decided on daily household expenses (Table 5.8). An exception was a never-married factory worker who was the sole breadwinner in the family. She gave money to her mother for all their needs but decided how the money should be spent. She found it necessary to do this in order stretch her limited income to meet all their needs.

In the households of never-married women, it was mothers who were usually responsible for budgeting with money given by other household members. An exception was where the woman had a particular responsibility for a specific payment, such as electricity or water bills.

Most married women, regardless of work category, determined how money would be spent on daily expenses (Table 5.8). Decisions on daily expenses were seen as a 'female' concern; hence, wives were delegated the task of taking care of this particular aspect of household management. Never-married homemakers had the least say in decisions made on expenses. They were considered as dependents of their parents, if both were earning incomes, or of their fathers if their mothers were homemakers. Never-married homemakers had the least 'say' or power within the household among the women studied, except in a few cases. One such case was Beatrice (discussed in the later portion of this chapter), who took over her mother's role in day-to-day management because her mother was too busy to attend to it.

Table 5.8. Person who decided on daily expenses in the households by marital status and by women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category of never-married women		
made the decision	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	23	14	4
others	77	86	96
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

	work category of ever-married women		
made the decision	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	76	70	80
husband	14	10	6
both husband & wife	10	20	14
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

Source: Status of Women Survey, *Mauswagon*, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps.

For decisions involving P3,000 or more (Table 5.9), a quarter of the never-married factory workers and a fifth of the never-married non-factory workers were the decision-makers. Never-married homemakers played no role in such decision-making. The

majority of ever-married women answered that both husband and wife decided. Almost a third of the husbands of home-makers, a little more than a quarter of the husbands of factory workers and less than a fifth of the husbands of non-factory workers were solely responsible for decisions on such expenditures. The income from factory work seemed to make a difference in the decision-making power of never-married factory workers, since a third of them were able to decide on money spent on goods worth P3,000 and more. Never-married homemakers' powerlessness, since they were not earning incomes, was apparent as they had no participation at all in such expenditures.

Table 5.9. Person who decided on money spent on goods worth P3,000 and more in by marital status and women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993

	work category of never-married women		
made the decision	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	33	22	-
others	67	78	100
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

	work category of ever-married women		
made the decision	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	18	20	6
husband	26	16	32
both husband & wife	56	64	62
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

Source: Status of Women Survey, *Mauswagon*, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps.

The reported egalitarian decision-making among husbands and wives was subject to closer examination during in-depth interviews; When it came to spending the earnings of husbands in Mauswagon, it was often the husband's decision that prevailed. Flora, a 40-year-old, old homemaker married to a factory worker, explained the decision-making process in her household:

> 'My husband turns over his earnings to me on pay-day. He just asks for money from me when he needs it,' Flora declared. She said she was able to save, but not much because they still had children who were in school. Her husband's gross income month was P5,000 plus. Flora claimed that she and her husband jointly decided whether they would buy something for the home. They had bought a stereo set, television, video, washing

> machines, and wall clock during the course of their married life. 'At times, my husband decided to buy some things on credit at QFI by himself. For instance, he came home from work and brought with him shirts that he bought on credit from his co-worker. He also decided to buy the stereo by himself. Well, there is no problem with me . . . I think it is good that way . . .our house will be furnished. I also realise that he is spending the money he earned.'

The in-depth interviews revealed a variety of perspectives among women in relation to their income and their work. Nora represented one perspective. She decided what to do with her own earnings, although:

> I don't have much choice about what to do with it because it is used to buy our basic needs and pay our loans. Still, I feel the advantage of working and earning money because even in meeting basic needs I can buy right away without asking for money from my husband.

Some women received such very low pay that in spite of their incomes they remained economically dependent on their parents, in the case of never-married women, or their husbands, in the case of married women. These women felt that they did not really contribute to the family upkeep or wield power in decision-making within the household. Still, they felt better off than when they were totally dependent and not gainfully employed, as they had a sense of gaining a little control over their lives. This sense of control was very important to the women. Fe, the 21-year-old, never-married office clerk explained:

> Although I earn an income I feel that I am not free to live my own life. I have a curfew at home. I have to be home by 9:00 o'clock in the evening. If I go out with friends for two or three hours, I need not ask permission but beyond three hours I have to ask permission from my parents. My family do not consult me regarding family decisions. I suppose it's because I do not contribute much to the family budget. My elder sister who is a teacher and who earns more is part of decision-making in the family.
>
> My family does not tell me what to do with my income. That is, with the little that is left after deducting the basics that I need to buy. However, I do inform them if I intend to buy something from my earnings. I have to tell them because if I buy something for myself that is a bit costly, it would mean that I have to forego my monthly contribution to paying the water and electricity bills. There are even times when my money is not enough to buy a pair of pants or shoes and I have to borrow from my mother.
>
> I love my job, even if the pay is low ... My job spells a lot of difference for me and my life even if the pay is low. I do not want to experience again that feeling of total dependence on other people for my upkeep.

> Though my parents subsidise my needs, they do not provide all my needs. I do have a share in maintaining my upkeep. At least, even if the pay is low I can claim that I am working.

Letty wielded more power in her household than Fe. The rest of the household members deferred to her in any minor or major household decisions that had to be made. She did not ask permission from her parents to go out. She explained that her parents understood that she needed to relax after her work. According to her, she could not relax in her home because there she was constantly confronted with her household's needs. She often stayed with an aged friend after work or with friends who attended the same church.

Another outcome of women's earnings in Mauswagon was that an unmarried woman could live independently of her family. Women could also withdraw their monetary support from the family, thus giving them some bargaining power. However, this was not a usual occurrence. Most never-married women, whether working or not, lived with their parents if they were in Mauswagon. Even most of those who worked in the city commuted from Mauswagon to their place of work.

Belen, a 28-year-old never-married factory worker was an exception in that she did not live with her family. Belen had worked for QFI for four years. Due to irreconcilable differences with her mother she left her family home where her parents and unmarried brothers lived and rented a one-bedroom house with a female friend. She complained that she did not know how to please her mother. While she was living with her parents she gave one sack of rice every month for their consumption. She also gave money for groceries. She claimed that she allotted money out of her yearly bonus to build an extension to their house. 'I bought everything for the house extension, from plywood to nails.' Her mother was not pleased if Belen bought household appliances, such as rice cooker or if she bought a box of plates. 'I think she preferred to receive cash,' Belen tried to recall. Even after she rented her own place, she used to give her mother a half sack of rice per month. She said that she stopped giving it only when her mother kept on spreading bad rumours about her, especially her living arrangement with her friend. At the time of the interview, she still gave P50 to 100 to her father every pay-day, but not to her mother.

Everyday politics in women's households in Mauswagon

This section adopts Kerkvliet's (1990: 10) working definition of politics as 'the debates, conflicts, decisions, and cooperation among individuals, groups, and organisations regarding the control, allocation, and use of resources and the values and ideas underlying those activities.' The discussion in this section also relates to 'female agency', a term used by Wolf (1992: 23) when she presented and analysed the lives of Javanese factory daughters. She argued that individuals are not free since their agency is bounded by outside forces and is structured 'within the context of their collectivities' (Etzioni, 1988: 181 in Wolf, 1992: 23). Agency is not limited to activity, since it 'can involve passivity, accommodation, and withdrawal as much as defiance and resistance' (Wolf, 1992: 24). The following examples of female agency and everyday politics within women's households are presented in composite case study form. The cases show the power-play within the household and how negotiations were conducted.

Cely

Cely was a 34-year-old, married factory worker. Her husband was also a factory worker. They had four children ranging from four to nine years of age. Her husband received 4000 net income per month while she received around P2,000. Most deductions, such as payment for goods brought on credit at the factory cooperative store, were taken from Cely's income. Although her husband turned over most of his earnings to Cely every pay-day, he kept a portion of his income for himself. From time to time or a week after pay-day, he would borrow money from the amount he had given for family upkeep, when he ran out of the money he kept for himself due to losses at the cockfight or excessive expenditure on beer or other alcoholic drinks with friends. According to Cely, the amount borrowed was usually not paid back.

Drinking with the *barkada* (band of male friends) and occasional visits to the *sabungan* (a place where cockfights were held) on Sundays seemed to be a part of men's lives that was accepted by wives. Wives like Cely tolerated drinking and cockfighting but not 'womanising'. Cely was against womanising. Aside from the question of infidelity, she felt that maintaining a mistress would be more costly than maintaining other vices. Drinking and gambling were causes of marital conflict but Cely's tolerance really snapped when it came to 'womanising'. If she heard that her husband went to a club in

the city, she would really show her anger. During the early years of her marriage her reaction would be to rant and rave at her husband and even cry. At the time of the interview Cely reported that she gave him silence or treated him coldly. Another way to show her anger was to go out and return home very late. Actually she just went to her parents' house or to that of a friend. She found that the latter strategies of employing silence and walking out worked better than when she became angry. Cely's husband would then give in and try to pacify her by coming home early if he was not assigned to the night shift. Part of his strategy to pacify Cely's anger was to pass over his scheduled night for drinking with the *barkada* or even give up the Sunday cockfight. Cely would accept this peace offering. However, the underlying reason for the conflict was not discussed by Cely and her husband.

Cely noted that her husband usually brought *letchon manok* or a kilo of *letchon baboy* (barbecued whole chicken or roasted whole pig) for the family table on pay-days. The children looked forward to this occasion. Sometimes it would be two *lechon manok* or a kilo more of *lechon baboy* in order to share with his drinking friends. Cely could not help but complain at times that his pay-day expenditure was too extravagant. The usual answer from her husband was that he took the amount from his allowance, the money that he kept for himself. However, it was Cely who had to take charge of the day-to-day expenditure in between pay-days.

Cely had to budget for all of their needs from her earnings and the amount her husband gave. She lamented that one of the disadvantages of being a working wife was that the husband was confident to keep a portion of his income because of the wife's income. Cely bought her own clothes as well as the children's and their school needs from the same pool of income, while her husband bought his clothes from his own money.

Sometimes Cely overheard her husband boasting that he turned over his money to Cely and that she decided how to spend it. Indeed, Cely did decide how the money was spent, but there was not much lee-way because most was taken up by basic needs. Occasionally her husband asked to borrow from the amount he had given the previous week but Cely could not lend to him because there was none left. Her husband then started asking where the money went. Cely said that husbands could be 'very dense when they cannot get it to their heads that with the high cost of living, the money they give cannot last long.' Men just gave money but had no experience of budgeting and

actually spending it to meet the family's needs. Thus, they were ignorant as to the reality of how far the amount would go with the spiralling cost of commodities.

Cely was warned by her husband not to enter the 5-6 Loan Scheme. However, Cely told me that she did enter this borrowing scheme without her husband's knowledge. 'Well, he just doesn't know that I've been trying my best to make both ends meet,' she lamented. 'Money is very easy to spend, more so now that prices of goods are increasing almost every day.' According to Cely her husband thought that once he had turned over his money to her all his family obligations had been met. 'He would not worry if there was no more rice in the *laton* (rice container) nor even bother if there was no money for emergencies, like on one occasion when we had to bring our youngest to the hospital. Or for unexpected expenses like school contributions or costumes for the children during school programs.'

It was always Cely who found the means to meet obligations or, if necessary, to postpone paying obligations. She was the one who explained to the manager of the QFI's Consumers' Co-op and signed the request slip that she would not be deducted for the goods she bought on credit for the coming pay-day.

Cely also confided that she had learned to save money without her husband's knowledge. Since it was she who had to cover the family needs, she had also learned to set aside small amounts in case of emergency. She found being a factory worker was an advantage because the income she earned made her husband aware of the contribution she made to the family income.

A discussion of Cely's case

Cely's husband earned more than Cely, although both were factory workers at QFI. In absolute terms, Cely's husband contributed more than she did for the family upkeep. However, Cely's contribution was greater than her husband's as a proportion of income earned.

Cely's husband bought his own personal needs from the amount he kept for himself. While Cely bought all the needs of the household from her own income and from the money her husband gave her. She could no longer distinguish her own income since her

income and the amount given by her husband were pooled for communal expenditures for the home. Family needs were the priority in these expenditures.

Cely's husband had clearly defined leisure time to be spent with his drinking buddies and at the cockfights. Cely's leisure time was not obvious because her time was spent either in the factory or at home attending to housework. In the allocation of household resources and leisure time, Cely's husband had a greater share than Cely.

Her husband's purchasing power was manifested in the special dishes not usually available in their day-to-day diet that he brought home on pay-day. However, Cely considered this a drain on money that could have been contributed to the family budget. Cely's contribution to the household finances was more covert because it was the day-to-day expenditure for which she was responsible. Although husbands were identified as breadwinners, it was clear that in Cely's case it was not only the husband who 'brought the bread home'. Wives were also important sources of household income, as well as being responsible for the allocation of the total income to meet the needs of everyone in the household. Should the container run out of food or there be no money for an emergency, it was the wife who had to find the means to meet the need. It was Cely who negotiated to postpone meeting financial obligations and find ways of borrowing money, often without the knowledge of her husband.

The forms of resistance that Cely used to defy or show her anger to her husband were silence and 'cold shoulder treatment', concealment of information and other strategies not recognised as such by the husband. She first attempted the *dili mapildi sa istorya* (cannot be silenced and out-talked), and *mohilak* (crying) strategies. She later changed to passive resistance by giving her husband the silent or 'cold shoulder treatment'.

The strategies that Cely employed may have proved to be effective in the short run, since they cushioned her from further tension and stress. But she would continue to suffer because, with the passive resistance technique, the core the causes of conflict were not addressed.

Beatrice

Beatrice was a 24-year-old homemaker who kept house for her parents and siblings. Her failure to land in a job after several application attempts starting from 1991 to 1993 was discussed in Chapter 4. During the time of the interview Beatrice took charge of the day-to-day running of her household. Her parents then worked at QFI: her mother was a packer at the packing table and her father was a mechanic. Since she was the one left at home, she disciplined her younger brothers, aged nine and seven and sister, aged six. She also said that she 'just reminded' her two other brothers and a sister who were in their 20s on their duties. She also attended Parent-Teachers' Association (PTA) meetings, substituting for her parents. When her younger brothers and sisters landed in trouble with other children in the neighbourhood, she was the one who settled misunderstandings for them. Her parents had no time to attend to housework and other parental obligations. According to Beatrice, her mother was too tired to do anything after work.

Her parents gave Beatrice spending money for the household needs and her own needs. She said:

> At times, I feel ashamed that at my age I still ask for money from my parents for my personal needs. But I cannot do anything about that since I have no job. But my parents just do not feed or clothe me. I more than do my share in this household . . . I wake up early, by 5:00 am I have already prepared our breakfast since mother reports at QFI at exactly 7:00 am. I have trained my younger brothers to clean up the kitchen after eating. Since I'm freed from cleaning the kitchen, I water the plants then wash clothes for all household members. Nowadays, I exclude denim pants from my washing. My 20-year old brother agreed to do them for me. After washing clothes, I start preparing for our lunch. The rest of the day will be occupied taking care of my nephew. Then at around six o'clock in the evening I will be preparing for our dinner. . .

Beatrice decided what to buy for the day-to-day needs of the family, especially food, but for other larger expenditures her parents decided. Their house was typical for a two-income- earner household from QFI. It had a stereo system, a refrigerator, two electric fans, wall decorations, figurines and many pieces of Tupperware. In 1993 her parents were keen on buying appliances for the home and on home improvement, including constructing an extension of their house. In fact, her parents incurred loans to finance their spending on home improvement and purchase of appliances.

Although Beatrice learned to love her work at home, she could not help but complain that at times other family members were unappreciative of what she had done. They took her work for granted. She said that it seemed that time was always running after her as she performed housework.

> Two things make me mad. First is when they take for granted the things I do in the house. Second is when my parents think that since I just stay at home I need not buy clothes and other things for myself. I go on strike from attending to housework when these issues crop up. I seldom ask for large amount for my own needs. But there are times that I really want to buy something that costs an amount, like a good pair of pants. If I buy one that is of good quality, it will also last but at times there are so many words said before the amount is given. I cannot not help but talk back and tell them that they would have spent more if they hired a helper to take care of the house. I also feel bad when they just take for granted the tasks I perform. As if I'm obliged to do things for them because I have no work. Actually, I easily recover once I feel appreciated.

Beatrice mentioned going on strike from her work. If she really felt bad, she would not rise from bed early and prepare breakfast. That would be an indication that she was slighted. She knew that she could wield power in that area. 'Although they could prepare breakfast on their own, it would really be a hassle on their part. My mother would be running late for work. I know that the rest would be crippled if I did not perform the housework, especially as they rely on me and we don't have a househelp.'

Her father was often the one who asked the others what was the cause of Beatrice's behaviour. If it was because of something she wanted to buy, her father would tell her mother to give her the amount. The other children would also be told to do the work Beatrice usually performed. However, as soon as she had recovered from her bad mood, the tasks done by the others would again have to be performed by Beatrice. She said:

> I could not stay angry for long, and right now keeping my family satisfied has been my source of satisfaction too. Perhaps, if I were doing these things for other people for pay, I would have resigned a long time ago, but I am doing this for my family.

Beatrice had plans to resume her search for paid work. According to her, it would still be different if she had an income of her own. 'Perhaps, if I am working outside the house, my family will realise the full importance of what I am doing right now.' At 24, she had no plans for getting married yet. She felt that she was already handling the responsibilities of a married person: 'I'm performing the tasks most married women do,

such as taking care of the children, cooking food and washing clothes and disciplining my younger brother and sisters.'

A discussion of Beatrice's case

As a homemaker, Beatrice made no monetary contribution to her household. However, her work at home yielded many things that were for immediate consumption since 'meals are eaten, floors and clothes are made dirty over and over again' (Sharpe, 1992: 56). She acted as a surrogate mother for her younger siblings by disciplining them, cooking food and washing their clothes, and attending school meetings which were usually attended by parents.

In spite of all the tasks Beatrice performed at home, she remained uneasy that her parents supplied all her needs because she had no income of her own. However, she recognised that her non-monetary contribution to the household's upkeep was really quite large; especially if it were to be valued in monetary terms as measured by the cost of hiring house helpers to perform the tasks she did.

Beatrice decided what to buy from the money given by her mother for their day-to-day needs. The amount of money given was not fixed. Sometimes her mother bought goods on credit from the QFI cooperative store and Beatrice would only buy only things that were not included in her mother's purchase. The distinction between financial management and financial control (Baxter, 1992: 102) was clear in Beatrice's case. Beatrice managed only one financial aspect of her household, the purchase of goods for the family's day-to-day needs. Her part in this was variable, since her mother also purchased some of these goods from the cooperative store. Beatrice did not participate in deciding the purchase of more expensive items such as home appliances and had little or no 'control' over family finances.

Beatrice reported going on 'strike' from her daily tasks if she felt that her work was unappreciated or conflicts arose regarding money. She then withdrew her services by not attending to her usual tasks. She was very aware that her own labour at home contributed to her mother's efficiency at work. Beatrice woke early and prepared the meals so that her parents would not be late for work.

Another dimension of Beatrice's work was that it operated at the personal level. She expressed the feeling that if she had been working for pay she would have resigned from her work a long time ago. Beatrice was willing to tolerate the disadvantages of her role as a homemaker because of the emotional rewards she gained from serving her family. In housework for the family, the relationship is not between an employer and a worker and emotional ties run very deep (Sharpe, 1992: 57).

Beatrice drew her own satisfaction from her family's satisfaction with the things that she did for them. Even at those times when she withdrew her services due to some misunderstanding as soon as she felt appreciated and felt the security and love that her family provided, she resumed the tasks that she usually performed. Beatrice aspired to find work someday and earn an income but in 1993 she drew much of her satisfaction and self-esteem from her family's dependence upon the services she provided at home.

Conclusion

In Mauswagon, factory workers were more likely to earn higher incomes than other workers. With their access to relatively high wages compared to other workers with similar qualifications, they had consumption patterns that were not affordable by other women receiving lower pay. Thus, as factory workers with regular and relatively high pay, they had good credit standing among the lenders. They also had the capacity to buy goods on credit, although some later discovered that they had over-committed themselves. Hence, even with their high pay, factory workers often took home less pay. The 5-6 Loan Scheme and their preoccupation with material things and consumerism kept some women, especially the factory workers, in debt.

Ever-married working women appeared to have considerable power at the household level in making decisions and organising daily family affairs. However, this was often undermined by the fact that a woman's income made it possible for her husband to withdraw from his financial responsibilities, to pursue personal objectives, such as drinking and gambling. This often led to conflict. Married factory workers' autonomy gained by their income was also undermined by the debts incurred under the 5-6 Loan Scheme. Women were the ones who usually looked for means to cover-up deficits in household budgets. This became a vicious cycle since they were also responsible for paying for the debts incurred. With their low take-home pay, they then had to depend

on their husband's incomes to cover the expenses at home. This reduced their autonomy in other areas of decision-making.

Never-married factory workers, especially if they were the largest contributors to the family upkeep exerted greater power over decision-making and expenditures in their households. However, many never-married women working outside the factories were not financially independent from their parents. Since their pay was low, they had to depend on their parents for some needs and often had little decision-making autonomy as a result.

Although work often seemed to provide little real autonomy, the woman themselves interpreted their situation from a somewhat different perspective. Their income was small (compared to their husbands for ever-married women and to other household members in the case of the never-married non-factory workers). However, they felt that it did give them some autonomy in consumption and a sense of greater control over their lives. Women gained more decision-making power in some areas, although they were unable to bargain for significant change in gender relations within the home, specifically in the domestic division of labour (discussed in Chapter 7). Despite women's smaller incomes, their sense of self and their willingness to confront men were gradually increasing. A number of women acknowledged that they were able to wield indirect or informal power in the family and achieve their ends through manipulation. However, although such strategies may be effective in the short-run, a disadvantage is that, 'a person who uses indirect influence is not likely to view herself as a strong person' (Kung, 1983: 5).

As discussed in Chapter 4, most never-married homemakers stayed at home not by choice but because the labour market could not absorb them, while ever-married homemakers chose to stay at home to take care of their husbands and children. The decision of ever-married homemakers was often heavily influenced by their husbands. As illustrated in the composite case study of Beatrice, working members of a homemaker's household relied upon her to perform the household tasks so that they would be able to work and earn incomes. In the power play within the household, a homemaker could withdrew her services but not for long since relationships within families run deeper than that of a worker and employer. Homemakers in Mauswagon

drew much of their satisfaction from the satisfaction of the other household members with the work that the homemaker performed at home.

Women's incomes, no matter how low, could be used as lever to obtain some space for autonomous control. Ever-married working women whether working in the factory or non-factory, greatly contributed to the family upkeep. As their incomes were pooled with those of their husbands', they brought benefits to the whole family. To an outsider like me, the 'token' contributions some of the women gave to their households did not seem to make a difference in their relationships with other household members. However, the women concerned perceived some changes that were not insignificant to them. Fe's words (page 24) captured the significance women attributed to their paid work:

> ...I do not want to go back to those miserable times when I was out of work and I stayed at home...I felt useless. I can bear the low pay in my present job rather than face the alternative of quitting and staying home...

From the internal dynamics within the women's households, internal dynamics within the workplace will be investigated in the next chapter. The factory where the case study was conducted will be described and a literature review on the division of labour in the workplace will follow. Life within the factory will be investigated in the context of the sex division of labour, the tasks women and men performed at QFI.

6 Life Within the Factory Gates:
Who does what?

Women dominate areas of our operation where their tender touch, affectionate nature, attentiveness to detail, analytical patience are put to best use. Women outnumber men in our fresh fruit and cannery operations.
QFI, Cannery Manager, November 4, 1993

A newcomer to Mauswagon would not miss the QFI food processing plant. Aside from the strong pineapple smell, the whole QFI structure was a landmark. From Cagayan de Oro City, the QFI buildings were located on the left side of the main road near the sea. The QFI compound was surrounded by a high wire fence that separated it from the main road and the rest of Mauswagon. The fence was higher around the processing plant than the corporate office. Minor though the difference may be to an onlooker, it marked a significant difference to the people working inside the processing plant as they compared themselves with those working at the corporate office. The production and corporate sections of QFI were, as Ackerman (1982: 98) described a shoe factory in Malaysia, 'socially, as well as spatially distinct' (Ackerman, 1982: 98).

In addition to the physical separation of the corporate section, which comprised managerial and administrative workers, and the production section, which comprised factory workers, the two sections rarely mixed socially. The exceptions were social events, such as a ball or disco organised by management. Even on these occasions, production workers kept their distance from the corporate workers. Higher status was accorded to corporate and administrative workers. There were a few corporate workers whom the production workers describe as friendly and 'who go out of their way to reach out to us'. Most factory workers, especially the younger ones, regarded the corporate workers with envy and admiration. They dreamed of working at the corporate office someday, although they usually checked themselves with a reprimand 'to stop dreaming

while fully awake'. In addition to the salary differentials, workers in the corporate office enjoyed an air-conditioned work environment while those in the processing plant had to endure the hot, poorly-ventilated and noisy work atmosphere. The corporate office could be aptly described in Pollert's (1981: 28) words as the 'public face,' a term she used to describe the management office of a factory in Bristol.

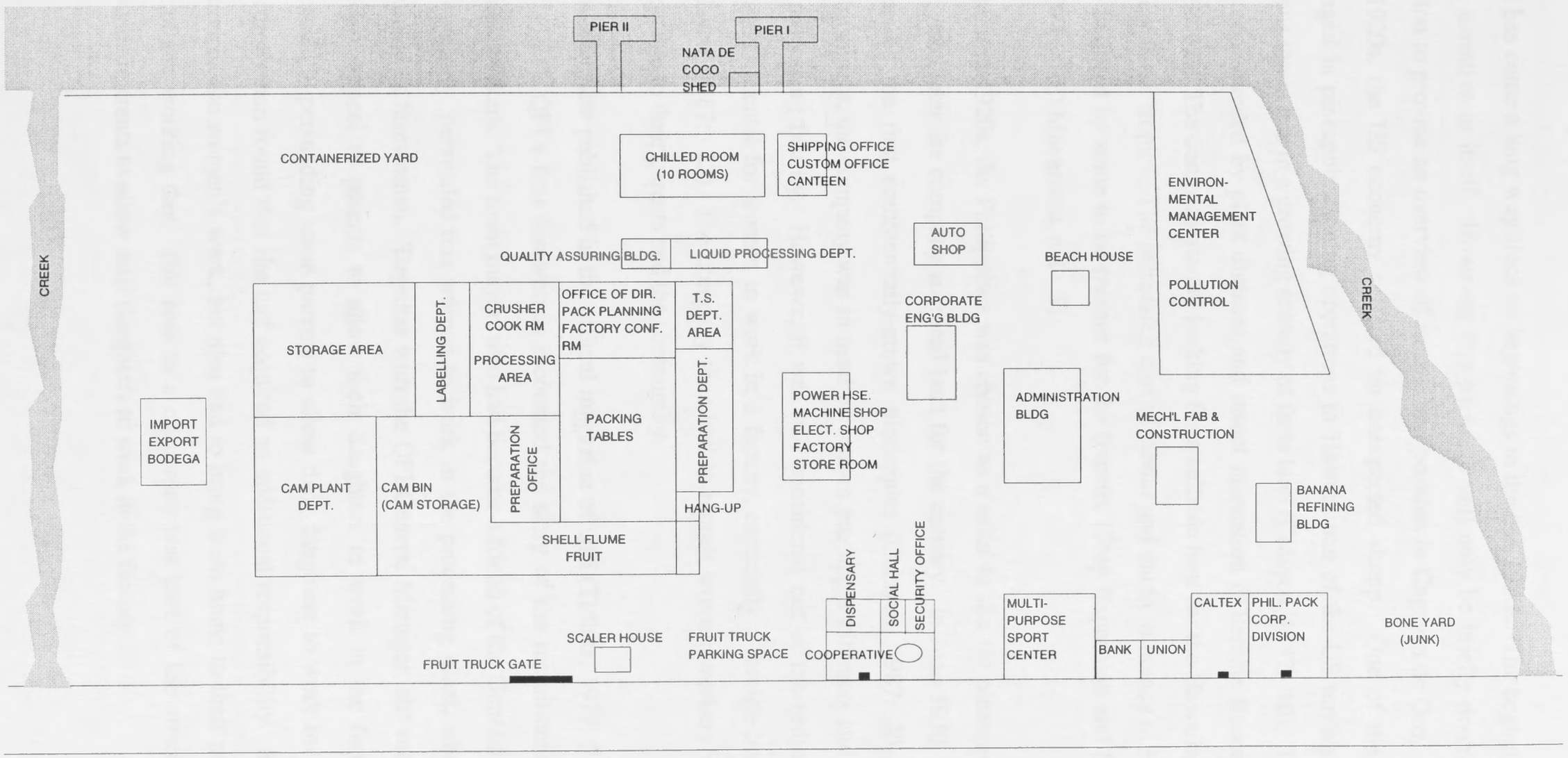
In addition to the processing building and corporate office, the QFI compound housed its own tennis court at the far end, a cafeteria for the staff, a dispensary for health services, and an entertainment hall that also served as the dining hall and cafeteria for the factory workers (see Figure 6.1 for the building lay-out of QFI).

This chapter describes the factory itself, the perceptions of outsiders and insiders about QFI, its beginnings and recruitment policy, and the sex division of labour. It describes in detail what it was like to work in the factory from my own perspective during the brief time I worked as a factory worker assigned to the preparation table. The main focus of this chapter is the food processing plant where most of the women were employed. Much has been written about the statistical aspects of women's workforce participation, but less on actual happenings in women's workplaces. This chapter addresses this neglected area with a qualitative case study of women workers in the QFI food processing factory.

The factory

The year 1993 marked the 67th year of operation of QFI in the Philippines. Although canned and fresh pineapples constituted the bulk of its business, it also manufactured tomato products, mixed fruit drinks, vinegar, pork and beans, spaghetti sauce, and pizza sauce (Philippine Business Profiles and Perspectives and Center for Research and Communication, 1989: 224). It should not be regarded as a wholly typical industrial organisation in Cagayan de Oro City or in the Philippines as a whole. It was atypical to some extent because of its long history in the country compared to the other multinational companies that mushroomed only in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, it was also typical in that it was a workplace that employed a large number of women.

Figure 6.1 Building lay-out of QFI Compound



QFI has come a long way since its beginnings in the late 1920s. The beginnings of QFI is a narrative in itself. However, that narrative will only be briefly described in this section to provide an overview of its role and position in Cagayan de Oro. At the start of 1920s, the US economy suffered an unexpected slump. One of the companies engaged in pineapple-canning operations in Hawaii, one of the US territories, faced a serious threat due to a growing scarcity of farm land (Colayco, 1987: 10). The problem was compounded by plant diseases and insect infestation (Alternate Resource Center, 1989: 32). The company started looking for a suitable host for the Hawaiian pineapple variety in the tropics. The increasing cost of labour and union militancy in Hawaii were also believed by some to be reasons for the transfer (Stop Expansion and Exploitation by QFI (SEE) Movement, n.d.: 1).

In the mid-1920s, the Philippines was chosen as a suitable site for pineapple growing; four years later the company acquired land for the cannery. In June 1930, the cannery processed the first commercially-grown pineapples (Colayco, 1987: 20). After its establishment, the company was in need of women pineapple trimmers and packers for the processing facility. However, it was still considered out of the ordinary in rural Misamis Oriental for women to work in a factory, especially a foreign-owned factory (Colayco, 1987: 23) The company thus had to recruit women workers in a manner acceptable to their parents and the community.

In an interview published in the official magazine of QFI (Tidbits, 1979: 5 in Colayco, 1987: 23), QFI's first forewoman recounted the story of the recruitment of its first women workers. The town mayor, who had become a friend of the General Manager of the company, persuaded this woman to work in the processing plant, where she was appointed as forewoman. Together with the QFI General Manager, she made a house-to-house appeal to parents to allow their daughters to work in the factory. After successfully persuading some parents to allow their daughters to work for the factory, the forewoman found that she had acquired an additional responsibility. She not only supervised the women's work, but also had to bring them home to their parents at the end of the working day. Her role as a chaperone was part of the arrangement that persuaded parents to allow their daughters to work in the factory.

Although 60 years earlier parents had been reluctant to allow their daughters to work in the factory, in 1993 women dominated factory employment. The packing table[1], where the trimming and canning sections were located, constituted the largest section. It employed about 2,000 women classified by management as 'low-skilled'. Seventeen years ago jobs in the processing plant were not as competitive as in 1993. Joy, a married factory worker who had reached third year high school and who had been working at QFI for 17 years, shared her experience of joining QFI as a factory worker to illustrate the changing recruitment process:

> QFI is my second job. My first job was in a biscuit factory. We could eat as much biscuit as we wanted right there, but we had to be careful that we were not in sight of our supervisor. I stopped working in the biscuit factory and transferred to QFI because it offered a much better pay than my job at that time. I started as a casual worker for 90 days. After that I became a regular worker. Although my father worked at QFI, I did not ask him to back me up in my application. I applied on my own. At that time applications did not yet need *backers* (usually a high ranking staff member at QFI who would recommend applicants to management or support the application).

Worker recruitment had changed by 1993. Women were flocking to the factory gates for employment. Although women with a low level of education had been accepted in the past, in 1993 a high minimum educational qualification was required even for those jobs that did not necessarily use such a high level of education. This trend was evident in the level of educational attainment among the factory workers: older workers had lower educational levels than younger factory workers. For those who just met the minimum qualification the likelihood of being hired was slim in 1993 because most applicants were college educated or even college graduates. A *padrino* (sponsor) system was in place and applicants also needed a *backer*. Most of the factory workers interviewed and those who wished to work in QFI cited the need for a backer in order to obtain a job inside.

Belen, a 29-year-old high school graduate and unmarried factory worker shared her experience of seeking a job both with and without a backer:

> In 1981 I graduated from high school. I was not able to find a job then. I wanted to work at QFI but nobody would back my application. One needs a backer to be able to work at QFI. I stayed at home for four years and performed all the housework for my family, from cooking to washing clothes to cleaning the house. Then I decided to make a life for myself in Manila. I ran away from home and worked in various jobs in Manila as a househelper, cook,

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[1] The terms *packing* and *preparation* tables are used interchangeably in the discussion.

> and laundry-woman in several households and a restaurant. After working in Manila for four years, I decided to go home when the husband of my cousin visited my brother who was working in Manila at that time. My husband's cousin worked in QFI and served as the Union Director at QFI. He assured my brother and myself that he could help me land a job at QFI. And true enough, I was able to work at QFI when I arrived home.

Ayen, a 28-year-old, third-year college, married factory worker also used a backer:

> I started working as a factory worker in 1990. The son of my father's close relative who held a high position at QFI backed my application. You need a backer so that you can get inside QFI. My backer is the manager at the can plant...I remembered that when I was still in high school I attempted to apply as a factory worker in QFI. I was really discouraged because there were others who had the same qualification as me who were accepted. I realised then that at QFI you need a backer to be accepted. I told myself that *kaayo ra bombahan sa granada ang QFI sa ilang patakaran* (I would like to throw a grenade at QFI for their hiring policy). During those times, I was younger and a bit brash . . .

Women working at home and even those who had work already expressed their frustration about the backer system at QFI. Many wanted to work at QFI. At one time or another they had lodged applications; however, no one backed their applications so they failed to gain employment.

Lorna, a 22-year-old, unmarried houseworker whose case had been discussed in earlier chapters related her job application experience in QFI:

> ... After I resigned from my job at the department store I applied at QFI. My father accompanied me but I was told that QFI wouldn't accept me because I was not a high school graduate. I had just reached third year high school because my parents could no longer afford to send me to a higher level. Well, I know that there are workers who are not high school graduates in QFI. It's just that I have no backer inside. Or perhaps, they have raised the qualifications of applicants because there are a lot of applicants. But I still believe that even although I did not earn a high school diploma if I had a backer I could get inside QFI.

Fe, a 22-year-old office clerk and vocational graduate, expressed her wish to work at QFI and her frustration at not being able to do so:

> I prefer to work at QFI because the pay is good and I need not commute to the city and spend money for fares and food as in my present job. Unfortunately, the QFI supervisor who was supposed to back my application resigned. My application did not stand a chance without a backer.

Quality Foods Incorporated: Its economic contributions and people's perceptions

QFI is often in the limelight, being part of a multinational network and a major force in the local and national economy (Atienza, 1992: 12). As such, it has received its share of praise and criticism. Its role as an engine of growth has been emphasised in positive assessments of its contribution to the economy. This role is manifested by the foreign exchange it has generated and the employment it provided to over 9,000 workers in 1993. Based on gross revenue, QFI was classifed as one of the top 50 of the country's Best 1000 Corporations by *Mahal Kong Pilipinas Foundation* (My Beloved Philippines Foundation). It was also listed as one of the top 10 export-earners among multinational corporations, and was identified as a major tax contributor to the government. In 1992, QFI paid some P583.6 million in taxes (see Table 6.2). The amount had more than tripled compared to its P188-million tax contribution in 1990 (de la Rosa, 1993: 3). Table 6.1 illustrates its gross revenue ranking, gross revenue and net income among the top corporations in the Philippines from 1983 to 1990.

Table 6.1. QFI performance among the 1000 top corporations in the Philippines, 1983-1990 (gross revenue and net income in pesos)

Year	Ranking	Gross Revenue	Net Income
1983	49	944,547	4,551
1984	34	1,635,511	6,643
1985	30	1,874,392	175,631
1986	26	2,109,937	411,762
1987	27	2,235,644	414,291
1988	34	2,329,878	356,951
1989	43	2,421,982	176,186
1990	37	3,122,264	353,267

Sources: Mahal Kong Pilipinas Foundation, Philippines' Best 1000 Corporations, 1985: 30-31

Mahal Kong Pilipinas Foundation, Philippines' Best 1000 Corporations, 1987: 36-37

Mahal Kong Pilipinas Foundation, Philippines' Best 1000 Corporations, 1989: 2-3

Mahal Kong Pilipinas Foundation, Philippines' Best 1000 Corporations, 1991: 1-2

QFI has also been known for its generous employee benefits and above average wage-scale. Table 6.2 shows the 1992 corporate statistics of QFI.

Table 6.2. 1992 Corporate statistics of Quality Foods, Incorporated

Employment		
plantation	5,380	
Mauswagon	3,798	
Makati	115	
Total	9,293	
Unions		
Federations	2	
Number of Unions	5	
Total Membership	8,243	
Salaries and Wages	**PhilippineP**	**US$**
Salaries and Wages Paid	892,571,097.00	35,030,262.83
Withholding Tax on Wages	78,975,159.00	3,099,496.04
Major Taxes Paid		
Income Tax	155,270,339.00	6,093,812.36
Custom Duties	117,207,488.00	4,599,979.91
Value Added Tax	141,384,100.00	5,548,826.53
Real Property Taxes	4,588,150.00	180,068.68
Other Taxes	165,141,886.00	6,481,235.71
Total	583,591,963.00	22,903,923.19
Average Daily Basic Rates for Hourly Workers (As of December 1992)		
Mauswagon	222.82	8.74
Plantation	189.53	7.44
(excludes overtime, 13th month pay and leaves with pay)		
Employee Benefits		
Medical/Health Services	47,322,132.00	1,857,226.53
Housing Program	32,316,998.00	1,268,328.02
Educational Assistance	8,612,030.00	337,991.76
Social/Recreational	883,941.00	34,691.56
Others (Transport, Merienda, Allowance, etc.)	22,631,003.00	888,186.93
Retirement Plan	38,108,051.00	1,495,606.40
Provident Plan	11,919,283.00	467,789.76
Taxes - SSS	27,073,540.00	1,062,540.82
Insurance Compensation	1,226,157.00	48,122.33
Total	190,093,171.00	7,460,485.52
Community Outreach Program		
School Subsidies & Scholarships	5,943,931.00	233,278.30
HEART Community Medicine	1,684,244.00	66,100.63
HEART Development & Extension Services	2,241,543.00	87,972.65
Total	9,869,718.00	387,351.57
Public Relations & Special Relations	8,765,943.00	344,032.30

Note: P25.48:US$1 in 1992

Source: QFI (1993: 1).

Mr. Salve Ramirez, QFI Media Relations and Communications Manager, pointed out the comparative advantage in terms of wages for the QFI pineapple workers compared

with their Indonesian and Thai counterparts. While an Indonesian worker was paid the equivalent of P28 a day and a Thai worker received P79.50 a day, the average daily wage of the lowest paid QFI factory worker amounted to P222, and the lowest paid plantation worker received an average of P189. This excludes overtime, 13th month pay, leave with pay and other company benefits.

QFI claimed that its pro-employee programs had helped the company win several major national awards (Management Digest, 1993: 16). Two of its national awards were gained for its treatment of its women employees. In 1989 it was awarded the coveted Outstanding Firm for Working Women in the Philippines Award, and in 1990 the Outstanding Women Employer Award. In an interview, the QFI Personnel Manager explained that the 1989 selection covered five categories: facilities for women, maternity protection and leave benefits, promotion of equal opportunity for both sexes, family planning services, and benefits given by management that are not required by law. The latest award was the 1993 Most Outstanding Family Welfare Program Award. The company was cited for its outstanding programs on health, medical care, nutrition and sanitation, livelihood enhancement, educational assistance, program for dependents, housing facilities, transportation, value formation, and responsible parenthood programs (Management Digest, 1993: 16). A national daily columnist described QFI as one of the most admired companies. QFI, however, wanted to be recognised as a 'responsible corporate guest with a heart' (Lorenzo, 1981: 2 in Atienza, 1992: 13).

For its employees, QFI sponsored social affairs like balls, discos and parties for occasions such as Christmas and St. Valentine's Day, as well as sports activities, often integrating dance or sports competitions (for example a marathon or darts competition) in these activities. These activities were used to motivate and reward workers. QFI management acknowledged the contribution of supervisors and middle managers in meeting quotas. For example, the QFI official publication in 1990 indicated that a dance party had been organised to thank the supervisors for helping to meet production targets and serving as effective links between management and the company's vast rank and file (Tidbits, 1990: 31). QFI was also identified as a generous patron to local charities. It was usually a major sponsor of concerts and other cultural events in Mauswagon and Cagayan de Oro City as a whole. It was also active in major community projects and outreach programs. For example, it contributed P1.5 million to

a multi-sectoral campaign to save the Philippine eagle from extinction and to protect and develop its natural environment (de la Rosa, 1993: 11). The company was, in fact, very successful in maintaining a positive image with local people and in the city generally.

Similarities can be drawn with the British factory studied by Pollert (1981) in Bristol, England. She described the factory she studied as a company that had a tradition of paternalism, welfare schemes, annual 'binges', holidays, outings, sports events and 'taking care of as well as employing whole families of workers'. This description also fitted QFI. It, too, was a reputable and paternalistic corporation. The Bristol company also employed sponsorships of cultural activities and undertook community projects. Pollert (1981: 41) described these activities as vital to marketing not only the image of 'the caring, soulful corporation, but also to perpetuate the belief that without the benefits of a healthy economy, people could not have culture and entertainment'.

In spite of its enormous contributions to the country's economy, QFI was not exempt from the major criticisms levelled at transnational corporations (TNCs) - specifically a lack of social responsibility (de la Rosa, 1993: 2). Corporations, including QFI, have created and appropriated so much wealth for themselves that the individual aggregate incomes of some of the largest are higher than the gross national products (GNPs) of some of their host countries. Atienza (1992: 14) pointed out that QFI critics argue that while QFI donated so much on projects that benefitted rural communities, 'these expenditures pale in comparison to the profits which QFI makes and repatriates abroad'.

Another criticism levelled at TNCs, including QFI, relates to the ecological impact of their operations, especially of the massive use of chemicals in the plantation and cannery areas. Even its contribution for the preservation of the Philippine eagle was met with scepticism, more so, since the nesting area of the eagle itself was the target of its pineapple plantation expansion (de la Rosa, 1993: 11). In an interview, a Haribon project officer argued that the project defeated its purpose since the company tried to save the eagle but not the forest which is vital for the bird's survival.

QFI was also criticised because it utilised short-term and contract workers who were paid the legal minimum wage but did not enjoy additional company benefits such as housing and rice allowances (de la Rosa, 1993: 5). Term-hire workers were fixed-term

contract workers whose contract last for three to six months but not beyond six months. A 22-year-old QFI term-hired employee shared her anxieties about the possibility of being retrenched and her views on the conditions of her employment:

'My contract is about to end by the middle of this month,' Letty informed me in an anxious tone. According to her, there were two possible outcomes, either she would be absorbed or re-trenched. 'I am aware that I am a good worker. I've given my best to the company I've been working for six months in QFI but I haven't been absent or late since the first day I reported,' Letty declared with a touch of pride. 'However,' she added in a soft and worried voice and with a sad face, 'it is not the only gauge that decides whether a worker will be retained.' She explained that a number of factors came into play:

> First, my contract may not be renewed because the duration of my contract is only six months; beyond six months, a worker is offered a permanent position. It would be cheaper for QFI to hire another batch of contract workers than to hire the same people and offer them permanent positions. Second, somebody backed me up when I applied for a job. My backer occupied a high position in QFI. I am aware that there are people within QFI who want their own recommendees to obtain jobs. There are politics within QFI itself in the recruitment of workers. Third, regular positions in QFI are competitive. I am only a high school graduate. Not that the job requires a high level of education, but with so many applicants competing, those who are college undergraduates or graduates have higher chances of obtaining permanent positions than those who aren't.

Term-hire workers were aware of their situations. Letty reported that her fellow term-hire workers shared her views about the positive aspect of their work. She had gleaned their opinions during informal conversations with them after work. 'We try to keep in mind the money that we are getting. We are aware that other jobs outside the factory would not pay as much as QFI does.' Term-hire workers lived for the day. 'We cannot afford to entertain thoughts for tomorrow, especially of the prospect that our contract will not be renewed,' Letty added.

QFI imposed compulsory overtime during periods of heavy canning. A working day at the packing table could stretch to 10 or 12 hours. Usually workers remained standing for the whole duration of their shift except for the 45-minute meal break and the two 15-minute rest periods, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. These working conditions had been criticised in the Lanz 1987 Report (de la Rosa, 1993: 5). However, factory workers were willing to endure longer hours of hard work at the packing table

during heavy canning in exchange for higher pay. Since they were paid by the hour, the longer they worked the higher their pay. Higher pay motivated the women to endure the long hours of hard work.

QFI was viewed differently by different people and organisations. A number of criticisms had been levelled against the firm. When factory workers were asked how they perceived QFI, their responses also varied. Although most of the women interviewed complained of various ailments ranging from backache and headache to varicose veins caused by standing for long hours, a common theme was that they could bear all the hard work and adverse effects that went with the job in return for the money they could obtain. Ferree (1987: 331) noted that while factory work is hard work, being able to earn high wages helps explain its popularity.

Belen, a single factory worker who had previously worked as a househelper in Manila, considered her current work to be less strenuous than the domestic work she did before, where she had also been subject to sexual harassment at the hands of her master and his son. She found that factory work offered a more congenial social environment. She described her work in the factory in her own words:

> My job at QFI is quite energy-draining. I go home very tired. It is also very routine. I've been doing the same kind of work (removing the eyes of the pineapple and brown spots and trimming the edges) for four years. I am not yet bored, though. Perhaps, it is because I have tried other energy-draining work for much less pay. I had to move from one house to another before because I had a problem with either my *amo* (master) or his son. I was subjected to worry and anxiety because I was not assured that I could get another job in another house if I resigned from my work as a househelp. At QFI, the pay is good. Though I am just a high school graduate, I earn the same pay as co-workers doing the same work who are college graduates. I think I earn better pay than those women working in the government as clerks or even teachers, or those working in private offices.

Letty, a single factory worker and breadwinner in a household of six felt that her work provided the resources she needed to meet the needs of her family. She was the only income- earner in her family. Her father had once worked at QFI. Ten years ago her father opted for a lump-sum early retirement payment, but the money he had received had long since been spent. She described her work in the factory:

> Factory work is hard work. My work at the control department is strenuous on the eyes. I have to closely observe the colour of the pineapples to detect discolouration and the weights of the filled cans. I feel at times that my eyes seem to fall from their sockets due to strain. Visual acuity is important, as well as precision and speed. When repetitive work takes its toll on me physically, I

> condition myself to think of the positive outcomes of my work. I have to keep in mind the money that I will be getting. I know that other jobs outside the factory would not pay me this much. I also think of the hundreds of applicants who want to work at QFI. . . At least, I am bringing home money for my family's daily needs.

Stressful though factory work may be, workers saw it as the most highly paid work they could secure considering their qualifications. Even workers with college-level education claimed that women with comparable education and experience working outside QFI were not receiving as much as they received.

A cannery supervisor described QFI as a good employer. She also described the generosity of QFI towards its employees in terms of pay:

> QFI is a good employer...I think, the Americans are good managers and administrators, unlike the Chinese. The overtime rate is high at QFI including work during Sundays. Workers can earn 4,000 to 5,000 per *quincena* (per fortnight) during heavy canning. And that's big money . . .

The ILO (1985) and Lim (1990) noted the comparative advantage of working in multinational companies or large modern enterprises. In most of the cases studied, the female labour force in multinational companies was relatively well-paid by local standards (ILO, 1985: 41). Even when that was not the case, work in multinational companies was frequently more desirable for other reasons such as better working conditions and higher status than, for example, farm labour and especially domestic service (ILO, 1985: 41). Garnsey and Paukert (1987: 26) also found that jobs in manufacturing were preferable to other job alternatives available for the same educational level, in particular domestic work. According to Lim (1990: 110) workers in large modern enterprises were usually better protected by labour legislation and unions than workers in the traditional sector or unorganised enterprises. Lim (1990) concluded that because multinationals were typically larger and more prominent enterprises, non-compliance with government legislation would be more visible than in smaller enterprises. Hence, the better working conditions in the multinational enterprises.

Work for the gander, work for the goose: A review of the division of labour in the workplace

The division of labour has been broadly defined as the ways in which the work activities of a population are allocated (Baxter, 1992: 95). Age, sex, class, skill or qualifications may be the basis of work allocation. In most multinational companies, sex seems to be a primary basis for the division of labour. Women's and men's work are divided both horizontally and vertically. Horizontal segregation refers to the concentration of women in some occupations and men in others (Ecevit, 1991: 62), or the extent to which men and women perform different jobs (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 557). By contrast, vertical segregation relates to the positions of women and men within the factory hierarchy (Ecevit, 1991: 62) or more specifically to the 'extent to which men have higher status and higher paid jobs than women' (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 557).

Jobs are perceived as either women's or men's work, demanding skills or attributes that are considered sex specific (Little, 1994: 106). Women are assigned to tasks involving visual skills and dexterity; men are assigned heavy tasks. Game and Pringle (1983: 28-29) classified jobs into dichotomies, 'heavy/light, dangerous/less dangerous, dirty/clean, interesting/boring, mobile/immobile'. They noted that the first of each of these pairs was seen to be appropriate for men while the second was seen to be appropriate for women. Ecevit (1991: 62) observed that the assignment of the sexes to different jobs in Turkish factories was usually brought about according to characteristics attributed to the job and to the workers. These included characteristics of jobs such as 'easy and light', 'difficult and heavy', 'requiring patience and dexterity', 'requiring skill or experience', and 'requiring mechanical knowledge and technical ability'.

In modern industrial societies, many workplaces are either sex-segregated or occupied only by members of one sex (Lorber, 1994: 194). According to Lorber, heavy-industry jobs are mechanised and deskilled because women are believed to have dexterity but no strength. This observation seems to be true not only for industrialised countries but also for those still in the process of industrialisation. Israel-Sobritchea (1990: 12) remarked that Filipino women are usually perceived as physically weaker, shorter and smaller than men. These biological characteristics uphold prevailing cultural traditions that women perform 'light work and engage in less risky' occupations.

Several studies have showed that factory management prefer women as workers. Studies in Brazil (Humphrey, 1985), Morocco (Joekes, 1985), and Mauritius (Hein, 1986) and the ILO (1985) have shown that employers value the stability, reliability and flexibility of women workers compared with men workers. In an Indonesian factory, employers' belief in the relative docility and submissiveness of women compared to men was an important factor in their preference for women workers (Wolf, 1986: 196). In Malaysia, women were believed to have 'fast fingers, fine eyesight, the passivity to withstand low-skilled work' more than men; hence, women were preferred for factory work (Ong, 1987: 152). In a Brazilian industry, Humphrey (1987: 100) reported that management believed that men were poor assembly workers, both for 'natural' reasons and because of their frustration at being limited to low-waged, dead-end jobs, while other jobs needing strength were more suited to them. 'Heavy' jobs identified as 'male' jobs were the ones that paid more (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984: 119).

The sexual division of labour has resulted in sex-based wage differentials, with women receiving lower wages than men. Although women and men often possess a similar level of skills, men's skills are believed to be better to those of women, and thus men are paid higher wages (Sinclair, 1991: 12). Non-recognition of the skills that women acquire in the home is one possible reason for such differences (Elson and Pearson, 1981; Heyzer, 1986: 103). Women's skills are often unacknowledged, especially if acquired informally (Game and Pringle, 1983: 29). Game and Pringle (1983: 18) argued that the definition of skill is often sex biased.

Another aspect of the sex differentiation of the labour force is what is generally referred to in the literature as women's 'secondary status' in the labour market. Women's secondary status and lower rates of pay compared to men doing similar or comparable jobs arises because men are thought to need an income to support their families, while it is assumed that women do not (Glazer, 1980: 264; Elson and Pearson, 1981: 92, 96; Loutfi, 1982: 61; Humphrey, 1985: 222; Hein, 1986: 306). Employers hiring women for the secondary labour market and subordinate jobs in the primary market also consider that domestic labour is women's real everyday work (Glazer, 1980: 263-264). Their work in the labour market is seen as an extension of the responsibilities they carry out in the home (Vanek, 1980: 282). The ILO (1985: 19) offered additional explanations as to why women are regarded as secondary workers:

> Their participation in wage labour is constrained by child-care responsibilities. Institutional discrimination based on traditional and patriarchal structures and cultures is another factor. Cultural and structural factors, important in other labour intensive non-agricultural industries, such as women's assumed greater manual dexterity and 'docility', probably also play a part.

Elson and Pearson (1981: 93) argued that the famous 'nimble fingers' of women are not hereditary or determined biologically. They result from the socialisation and training women receive from infancy. Since the training is socially invisible and privatised, the skills it produces are attributable to nature, and the jobs that make use of it are classified as 'unskilled' or 'semi-skilled'. It is regarded as women's 'nature' to be able to tolerate boring, repetitive work (Game and Pringle, 1983: 31). Elson and Pearson (1981: 94) and Philips and Taylor (1980: 85) concluded that it is the sex of those who do the work, rather than the work content, that has led to its identification as skilled or unskilled. There is nothing inherent in a job that makes it male or female; the gender definitions of jobs and sexual division of labour are sexually and historically constructed.

While modern industrial employment increases women's standard of living, the material benefits they gain from employment tend to be weakened by job segregation and other labour market practices, thus restricting women's relative earnings (Garnsey and Paukert, 1987: 27). Chafetz (1990: 106) concluded that as long as women perform sex-specific tasks in the labour market, their labour will not be rewarded equally with men. The labour market is clearly 'gendered' (Little, 1994: 106). Cockburn (1985) and Game and Pringle (1983) described the labour market as permeated by an implicit gender ideology that is activated through the practices of management, unions, workers, and women themselves.

In sum, the studies reviewed show the existence of a sex-based division of labour in the workplace, specifically in factories based both in developed and developing countries. The allocation of the sexes to different jobs has been made according to characteristics attributed to both the jobs and the workers. Women were believed to be good at jobs requiring patience and dexterity but not those requiring knowledge and technical ability. However, the attributes of patience and dexterity were not regarded as skills as they were considered to be innate characteristics common to all women. Because of these stereotyped characteristics attributed to women, they were preferred by management for factory work requiring dexterity but were then classified as unskilled. Thus, the sex division of labour resulted in women receiving lower wages than men. Women's lower

wages were also related to their secondary status as supplementary income-earners in the labour market. The next section will examine the sex division of labour at QFI in 1993.

Work for the gander, work for the goose: Division of labour within the QFI food processing plant

After months of waiting, the first concession by QFI management had been to give me a tour around the processing plant. Such tours were a part of the company's public relations. I toured the processing plant together with engineering students from a university in the central Philippines. Our tour guide explained the various stages involved in processing pineapples, beginning with the scale house where truckloads of pineapples from the plantation were weighed. The trucks then proceeded to the fruit dumping station. Here the ungraded pineapples were washed in a water flume and graded into three types according to size. The fruits then passed over conveyors where they were sorted by size by falling through running slats. The smaller fruit fell first, since the larger pineapples were too big to fit through the spaces. The graded fruits were then washed again in a water flume, and were carried by the fruit distributor conveyor to the *ginaca* machine[2]. There was little wastage, as juice was extracted from the parts removed by the machine.

We were not allowed to tour the areas where grading took place, nor were we allowed to go near the packing tables where the women were working. We could only pass through the designated visitor areas. These included an elevated passageway where we could view women while they were working at the preparation tables.

As we entered the processing plant, noise, mostly emanating from pineapples rumbling on conveyor belts, and the sight of women in white blouses and hairnets met us. In 1993 it was a big and noisy place, heavy with the clinging smell of pineapple. Each of the 23 packing tables inside accommodated 28-31 women. Of the 859 workers who reported per shift at QFI, only ten per cent (85) were men. The bulk of the manual work at the packing table involved processing pineapples. Women at the preparation tables received the pineapples carried by the conveyor from the *ginaca* machines. Each *ginaca*

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[2] A *ginaca* machine is a machine that serves as a pineapple peeler. It removes the skin, eyes, ends and cores of the fruit. It requires a ginaca feeder to feed the machine with pineapple fruit through a paddle.

machine supplied pineapples to three packing tables. Women worked as *ginaca* feeders, loaders, end pickers, resize pickers, half-eye pickers, choice packers, brown-spot pickers, fancy packers, and half-eye pokers[3]. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 described the various tasks women performed at the packing tables. Filling different sizes of can with varying grades of pineapples from, fancy pack to tidbits was done by machines; however, there were a few tables where women manually filled the cans.

The cooking area where canned pineapples were cooked was another section to which we were given access during the tour. Our tour guide had also shown us where the cans were produced. At this point, I realised that the noise came not only from the operating machines but also from the clatter of empty and filled cans crashing against each other as they were carried by the conveyor belts above us. The filled cans sealed by machines were then loaded into huge cookers. After cooking, the cans were allowed to cool before labelling. Only men operated the machines. They were free to move around and engage in short conversations in the midst of the noise. This was in contrast to the women's working conditions: they remained in one place either standing or seating and were not in charge of machines.

Our guide also showed us the labelling area where the cans were labelled according to their contents in the language of the country of destination. After labelling, the cans were ready to be packed in cartons and stacked in wooden pallets. One worker, usually a woman, checked for deformed cans and moved them aside. The stacked pallets were either stored or loaded for shipment or for transportation to marketing outlets by forklifts driven by men. After enduring the noise and high humidity inside the processing plant, I told myself that I would welcome a forklift driver's work. The forklift drivers seemed to enjoy moving around and joking with their fellow drivers as they met while delivering pallets either for storage or shipment. The guide had also pointed out the dock from which the products were shipped abroad.

Our tour guide pointed out the area where the quality control department was located but we were not allowed access to it. He explained that it was where samples of cans were checked for the sugar content in the syrup, and the grade of the produced pack was inspected. According to our guide, women were assigned to this area due to their

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[3] A poker is one who remove brown spots and eyes from the pineapples not removed by the *ginaca* machine.

attentiveness to detail. I had been thankful when the tour was over after 2-1/2 hours. I suffered a headache and felt dizzy, perhaps because of the combination of noise and high humidity. The whole place seemed to vibrate because of the moving cans and the operating machines.

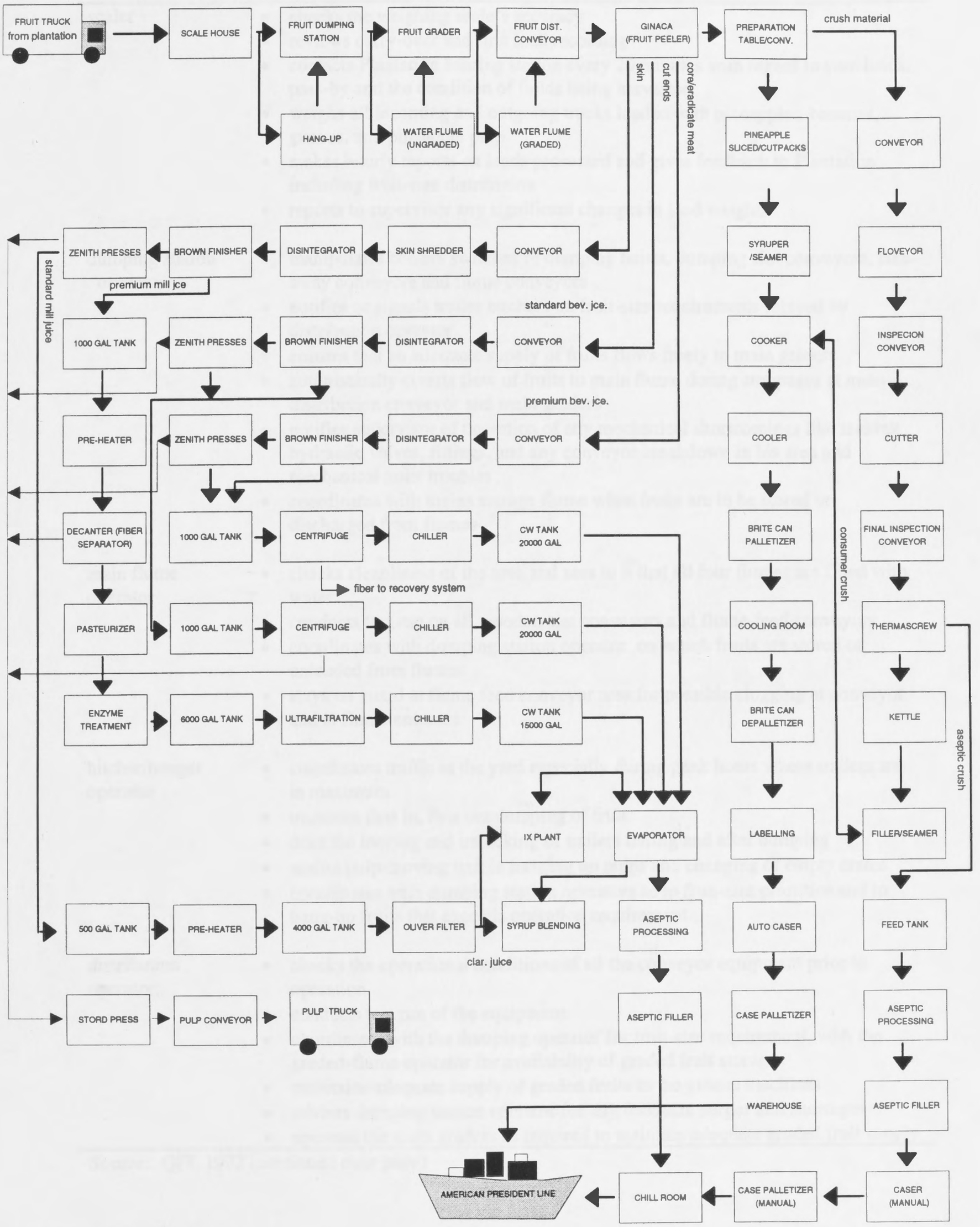
The sex-based division of labour was clear in QFI. The few men who worked with the women were supervisors, foremen and trayboys. The men assigned to the receiving/*ginaca* section were machine operators. Women working as machine operators were exceptions rather than the rule. The men operated the scales, the main flume, the receiving hitcher and hanger, the pineapple distributor, the graded fruit flume and the tender conveyors.

Both horizontal and vertical sex segregation existed in QFI. Horizontal segregation was reflected in the concentration of women in some occupations and men in others. Vertical segregation was reflected in the higher grades of men's positions compared to women's. A QFI manager explained that operating machines was more 'technical' than working at the preparation table with pineapples. According to him, this was why the per hour pay rate for men operating machines was higher than that for women at the preparation table. It was actually difficult to obtain direct data on the differential pay scales of men and women. QFI management could not provide me with the pay scales of workers, since this was regarded as confidential information. However, during the Survey, I was able to obtain information on the gross income of their husbands from the women involved in the study. The data reported in Chapter 5 show that husbands received higher incomes than wives.

Men at QFI were associated with machines and heavy work, while women were associated with manual and repetitive work. Most women were assigned to the preparation tables under the packing section. Men were assigned to sections where machines were operated, for instance to central maintenance where the automotive shop and repairs, machine shop, electrical, construction and carpentry, mechanical fabrication, and ground maintenance were located and where 'heavy work' (according to management's description) was performed, such as lifting trays and cartons of pineapples. I could not include all the positions and tasks men performed in the departments where they were assigned but Tables 6.3 and 6.4 outline the positions and tasks men performed at the receiving/*ginaca* and packing table sections.

Women at the packing table prepared the pineapples for processing. In the pineapple process flow diagram (Figure 6.2), the first two rows indicate the flow where pineapples were received, washed, scaled, graded and distributed. Pineapples passed through the *ginaca* machine before the preparation table. The *ginaca* machines removed the core, crown and skin of the pineapples. The *ginaca* feeder was part of the receiving/*ginaca* section while the rest of the workers mentioned earlier were in the packing table section. Some of the women's tasks are outlined in Table 6.5. All women at the packing table, regardless of position, ensured that pine cylinders or slices were free from defects, blemishes, skin, leaves, spikes, and other foreign materials. They were all required to report off-standard slices to the forewoman and to maintain good housekeeping at all times. Some but not all tables had tidbits workers. 'Tidbits' refer to the bite-sized pineapples processed at QFI. There was a tidbits picker, tidbits pusher, tidbits filler and tidbits sorter. The tidbits workers' tasks are outlined in Table 6.6. The tasks of the half-eye poker are included in Table 6.2. All packing tables had women working as pokers.

Figure 6.2 Pineapple process flow diagram



Source: QFI document, n.d.

Table 6.3. Positions and tasks of men assigned to the receiving/*ginaca* section

Positions	Tasklists
scaler	• checks the weighing scale's accuracy • reviews carry-over and first load recording • contacts Plantation loading station every 20 minutes with regard to sure loads, pass-by and the condition of fields being harvested • weighs all incoming and outgoing trucks loaded with pineapples, bananas, guavas, and pineapple pulp • makes hourly reports on loads processed and gives feedback to Plantation including fruit-size distribution • reports to supervisor any significant changes in load weights
dumping station operator	• manipulates control switches of dumping hoists, dumping slot conveyors, take-away conveyors and flume conveyors • notifies or signals trailer hitchers on fruit-size requirements relayed by distribution operator • ensures that an adequate supply of fruits flows freely to main graders • automatically diverts flow of fruits to main flume during stoppages at main distribution conveyor and main graders • notifies supervisor of operation of any mechanical shortcomings like leaking hydraulic valves, fittings, and any conveyor breakdown in his area and mechanical hoist troubles • coordinates with mains storage flume when fruits are to be stored or discharged from flumes
main flume operator	• checks cleanliness of the area and sees to it that all four flumes are filled with water • conducts test run on all wooden-slat conveyors and flume-feed conveyors • coordinates with dumping station operator on which fruits are stored or unloaded from flumes • stays on guard at flume feed conveyor area for possible clogging at conveyor and at flume entrance
hitcher/hanger operator	• coordinates traffic at the yard especially during peak hours where trailers are in maximum • monitors first in, first out dumping of fruit • does the locking and unlocking of trailers during and after dumping • assists pulp-moving unit in hanging up pulps and changing of empty crates • coordinates with dumping station operators as to fruit-size priorities and to hang-up fruits that exceeds operation requirement
distribution operator	• checks the operational conditions of all the conveyor equipment prior to operation • conducts test run of the equipment • coordinates with the dumping operator for fruit-size requirement, with the graded-flume operator for availability of graded fruit storage • maintains adequate supply of graded fruits to the *ginaca* machines • advises dumping station operator for any fruit-size surges and shortages • operates the main graders as required to maintain adequate graded fruit supply

Source: QFI, 1992 (continued over page)

Table 6.3. Positions and tasks of men assigned to the receiving/*ginaca* section (continued from previous page)

position	task
graded fruit flume operator	• checks the operational condition of the graded-flume, pump, valve positions, adequate water level at graded flume cells • conducts test run of the graded-flume pumps • directs the flow of graded fruits as required during operation • coordinates with foreman and supervisor on water requirement and graded-flume set-up and with the distribution operator for fruit supply and demand surges and shortages
pine-o-mat operator	• ensures that only extremely overripe, smashed, small or unwanted fruits are being fed to the machine • removes crowned fruit from the line, chops and places in the basket all retrieved crowns so as not to clog the machine
conveyor tender	• unclogs fruits that may slip underneath conveyors and or dividers • signals or notifies distribution operator in cases of belt swaying and on slippages • constantly monitors smooth flow of fruits
ginaca production foreman	• checks the operational conditions and conducts test run of the *ginaca* machines prior to operation • collects the attendance cards of *ginaca* feeders to check attendance operator requirement • coordinates with receiving/*ginaca* supervisor for table and *ginaca* set-up at start-up, lunch or dinner break, with *ginaca* operational maintenance leadman for correction of operational deficiencies, with receiving foreman for fruit size variation and changes in *ginaca* set-up, and with table forewomen for changes in *ginaca* supply and feeder shortages replacement • ensures that smooth relieving of personnel is observed during breaktime • monitors *ginaca* feeders' efficiency and calls attention to those low efficiency rating
foreman	• prior to operation: reports an hour before operation starts and supervises all truckers to ensure that all production materials and cans are ready; inspects all line conveyors, cutters, fillers and cans for operation; conducts five-minute safety talk at least once a week; assigns crew individual assignments and gives instructions to make sure work is properly done • during operation: follows-up individual job assignments; checks personnel attendance, update time and prepares absentee/tardiness report; supervises crew, truckers, runway tenders throughout the operation; sees to it that smooth relieving is observed; coordinates with cookroom foreman and quality control fill weight inspector regarding correct fill weight; checks quality of the pack for any mechanical problem; checks if daily time records are properly signed; controls personnel during break and knock-off time; coordinate with can plan dept. in case of insufficient can supply • post operation: insures proper turnover; returns properly counted materials to gloveroom; follows-up extendees job assignment especially miscellaneous crew

Source: QFI, 1992.

Table 6.4. Positions and tasks of men assigned to the preparation table section

position	task
can stacker	• checks with bulletin board and follows-up foreman's instruction on can sizes to stack for the day • keeps file of floorboards, cans and trays at minimum level • informs foreman ahead of time if floorboards and trays are below minimum level • informs foreman of any dirt and can defects noted • sees to it that floorboards and trays are arranged properly in place • picks up dropped cans immediately
trayboy	• knows varieties to be packed, their floorboard colour and can size • coordinates with packers in stacking of filled cans and the feeding of empty cans to facilitate smooth operation • transports filled plastic pails to conveyor • brings number 1 material placed in half round to tidbits sorter • makes sure to cover filled-up stocks with trays • follows correct can stacking pattern • clears off empty cans, floorboards and trays after canning knocks-off
can retriever	• prepares the can monitoring report and tally sheet for empty can damages • checks pack instruction, so that left over cans will be utilised for the next shift • checks left over cans to ensure that rusty and defective cans will not be brought back to the packing table • checks all outlets of cans so that damaged or defective cans will be brought to its proper place for counting and records all damaged cans after visual inspection • returns all reusable cans to packing table before they will become rusty • sorts out standby stacked cans and washes empty cans if necessary • reports to can plant if there is any can defect noted for correction • clears all dropped cans at the end of the shift and excess cans be brought for wiping and sorting and makes final report on all kinds of can damages, left overs and can usages
trucker	• prior to operation: provides production materials such as canning trays, floorboards, plastic pails; trucks left over cans from sanitation area; and stacks empty cans hour before operation as needed in planned pack for the day • during operation: trucks filled cans from packing table to cookroom area; trucks empty cans from one table to the other; coordinates with cookroom stack coordinator to avoid mixed variety; and sees to it that standard stacking pattern is followed before trucking to cookroom area • post-operation: trucks all filled cans to cookroom area after knock-out; trucks all empty cans, floorboards, plastic pails, canning trays and all production materials to sanitation area for washing

Source: QFI, 1992.

Table 6.5. Positions and tasks of women assigned to the *ginaca* and preparation sections

position	task
Ginaca Feeder	• selects good fruit and required fruit size from feed box discarding soft rotten damaged, outsized and crowned fruits into receptacle or to return conveyor • feed selected fruit into *ginaca* feed conveyor (avoid double feeding, avoid feeding oversized and undersized fruits, coordinate with *ginaca* mechanic of any clogging, stoppage or breakage) • perform duties under close supervision of supervisors (time to start and stop feeding upon supervisor's signal due to full tables, clogging, main belt adjustments or repairs crush belts)
loader	• checks whether feed conveyor chute and production materials are ready for use • informs forewoman/foreman of any off-standard pine cylinder (rough surface, rough core hole, excessive uncut ends, and other defects • manually cuts with a knife uncut top and bottom ends of cylinder • removes defective cylinder like pink fruit, marbling, soft brown spot, and other diseased cylinders and drop them to the juice conveyor • picks up good fancy cylinders for spears and cylinder packs and cuts into desired height then loads to respective conveyors
end picker	• sees to it that slices are aligned intact and not scattered in the conveyor belts • removes top and bottom slices rounded with skin and pine materials that are considered as juice material and drops them to the premium juice conveyor • receives resize materials in spindles from the resizer and properly loads the resize belt conveyor
resize picker	• picks up end slices with eyes and places them in spindles • gives resize materials to the end picker • picks up juice and retrieving materials and places them on trays provided
half-eye picker	• picks up slices half-rounded with eyes and places them on trays properly segregated according to colour • picks up resize, slices, juice and crush materials and puts them on trays provided
choice packer	• picks up choice slices and places them in plastic pails or packs them into desired can size • picks up resize, half-eye, brown-spot slices for poking and segregates them and puts them in filing trays provided • accumulated defective slices are conveyed to the poking area
brown-spot picker	• properly rolls, slices and picks up slices with eye, blemished, diseased brown spot and segregates according to colour and severity • sees to it that materials are poked on a first in-first out basis • picks up slices with brown, spot half-eye, juice and crush materials and places them on trays provided
fancy packer	• picks up all slices and retrieves defective slices like resize, half-eye, brown spot, slices for poking and other off-standard slices and files them on trays provided • arranges good slices according to colour • packs segregated slices to required can size • collected defective slices are placed on trays and conveyed to poking area

Source: QFI, 1992.

Table 6.6. Positions and tasks of tidbits workers assigned to the preparation table section

position	task
tidbits picker	• picks up all numbers 1 and 2 slices and arranges them according to colour • feeds all number 2 materials to tidbits packer for cutting and gives all accumulated number slices to the sorter for further segregation • coordinates with tidbits pusher and filler for uniformity of slice colour and quality • receives sorted slices from sorter of tidbits
tidbits pusher	• sees to it that pusher is cleaned and ready for operation • regularly inspects tidbits pusher for the correct number of segment required for a certain pack • coordinates with filler, tidbits picker for the uniformity of colour and quality of cutpacks
tidbits filler	• counter-checks the correct number of segments of tidbits pusher for a certain pack • checks with the bulletin board as to what colour of floorboard and cans to be used for the packs • checks tidbits materials for uncut pieces and report immediately to the forewoman/foreman for immediate action of any problem • coordinates with tidbits pusher and picker for the uniformity of colour and quality of slices to cut • coordinates with quality inspectors regarding correct fill weights
tidbits sorter	• properly segregates materials according to colour and classification • sees to it that plastic pails are cleaned and free from moulds and fermented odour • knows the kind and colour of slices to be placed in plastic pails
half-eye poker	• trims big brown spots with the use of knife • removes small slightly brown spots, eyes, blemish with the use of a poker • coordinates with brown spot, half-eye, poking 1 and 2 pickers to poke first in-first out basis • gives to tidbits sorter poked slices for further segregation and classification of packs

Source: QFI, 1992.

The sex-based division of labour was clear in QFI. QFI claimed that women had spread from the canning tables to the harvest fields, accounting and purchasing, auditing, research and marketing offices, the food processing plant, employee and community relations department, and other vital operations posts (Tidbits, 1992: 19). Table 6.7 shows that women and men were employed in three areas: Mauswagon where the corporate office and canning and processing were located; the plantation, where the pineapples were grown; and Makati, where advertising and marketing were based. However, no woman occupied a senior managerial post and men dominated all managerial positions except in Makati, where half of the managers were women and half were men. More than half (56 per cent) of the women in Mauswagon were

concentrated at the bottom of the factory hierarchy. These were the factory workers assigned to the packing table department. The plantation was located in a nearby province around 30 minutes away from the processing plant. Slightly more than three-quarters of the hourly workers in the plantation area were men. The work at the plantation according to QFI management, was considered 'heavy', not only because it required heavy physical labour, planting and harvesting pineapples, but also because it involved operating heavy equipment such as tractors, hauler trucks (for hauling pineapples from the plantation area to Mauswagon for processing), and the boom harvester. Women in the plantation area worked as fruit-pickers, and less than a fifth were supervisors. There were more male (83 per cent) supervisors than female supervisors in the field and they supervised the harvesting of pineapples in the field and other field-operations, such as hauling of fruits, and machinery maintenance.

Table 6.7. Women and men workers in QFI by area of coverage and position as of September 30, 1993

	Mauswagon			total
	male	female	% female	male & female
Sr. Manager	16	0	0	16
Manager	26	6	19	32
Supervisor	138	47	25	185
MNS	162	117	42	279
Hourlies	1517	1945	56	3462
Temporaries	59	93	61	152
Total	1918	2208	54	4126

	plantation			total
	male	female	% female	male & female
Sr. Manager	7	0	0	7
Manager	25	5	17	30
Supervisor	228	47	17	275
MNS	454	145	24	599
Hourlies	3462	953	22	4415
Temporaries	102	99	49	201
Total	4276	1249	23	5527

	Makati			Total
	male	female	% female	male & female
Sr. Manager	7	0	0	7
Manager	7	7	50	14
Supervisor	29	22	43	51
MNS	30	17	36	47
Hourlies	0	0	0	0
Temporaries	2	8	80	10
Total	75	54	42	129

Note: MNS - Monthly Non-Supervisory positions
Hourlies - Workers paid on an hourly rate
Temporaries - Workers with 6-month contracts

Source: QFI documents (1993).

Women were concentrated in the preparation and packing department in Mauswagon, the only area where women outnumbered men. The work they did was classified as unskilled. As Pollert (1981: 30) also noted in her study of the lives of women working in a factory, women were credited for their manual dexterity, but were not classified as

skilled. In 1993, only one woman had entered the 'man's world' in a post classified as 'skilled', that of an electric motor rewinder.

The work performed at the packing table was identified as women's work, and the packing table was designated as a 'women's world' in the processing plant. The few men who came in direct contact with the women at the packing table were the trayboys. Trayboys lifted empty cans and fed them to the women packers and fillers at the packing table. The trayboys also picked up the filled cans in trays and stacked them near the packing table according to variety. Since the trayboys' job entailed lifting, it was perceived by both women and men as a 'heavy' job. One of the trayboys, who was a brother of a female factory worker I interviewed, once overheard my conversation with his sister. The subject was women's and men's tasks in the processing plant. I had asked whether women could perform men's tasks and vice versa. He vehemently interrupted:

> Of course women could not perform the task I'm doing (said with an accompanying facial expression of incredulity) and I could not do what women are doing. My work is too heavy for women. They don't have the muscle and strength to lift heavy objects...and definitely I don't have the patience to perform the tasks they're doing...fiddly and repetitive tasks are more of women's line than men's...

Nora, a married factory worker, also said:

> I cannot imagine the men doing the work that women do at the packing table (her forehead wrinkled, as if the very thought disturbed her). They'll surely create a mess with their big clumsy hands... and I don't think they could stay put...tied right at the packing table doing the same task the whole shift. You know how men are; they easily get bored. The trayboys' work is heavier (she paused, as if reflecting on what she was about to say) but I wouldn't say harder than what women are doing. In fact, their work is easier than ours because they don't have to work as speedily as we do...we seem to be in a race...always trying to catch up with time. They are more mobile than us . . .

However, a few factory women, such as Ayen, thought that they could do the jobs of men:

> It's just a matter of getting used to carrying a heavy load. Work as a pineapple feeder in the *ginaca* machine is tough as well. It seemed light at the start but there's no such thing as a light job when you perform a task repeatedly for the whole shift. Given the chance, I'd exchange my assignment for that of the trayboy or machine operator. However, management and even most of my co-workers believe that those are men's jobs.

A division of labour between women and men also prevailed in the processing department. All operators were men, since operating machines was considered a 'heavy' job, while all standard control workers were women because the work was considered 'light'. Women took charge of the standard control inspection, which was a separate job from quality control. Standard control inspection was internal to the processing department, while quality control was conducted by the quality control department. Women assigned to standard control inspection had at least college level education. According to my tour guide, a male engineer, 'Women are meticulous; they don't get bored easily whereas men could not sustain the boring jobs. Women are more efficient than men at this type of job.' However, my guide explained that the wages depended upon the technicality of the job.

In an interview, the QFI Cannery Manager explained why management preferred women as workers in their fresh fruit and cannery operations. According to him, women's tender touch, affectionate nature, attentiveness to detail and analytical patience were put to best use in these operations. A woman supervisor who served as my orientation leader the first time I reported as a shift worker at the processing plant gave the same explanation:

> We prefer women in these jobs because we treat pineapples as infants...Women have the tender touch...unlike men.... they've got heavy hands. Pineapples have to be handled with care and QFI is aiming for 100 per cent recovery in its pineapples. Women are very good at this type of work, which needs patience and dexterity. Naturally, women have more patience than men; men cannot do monotonous work.

In sum, although both men and women were classified as factory workers, they performed different types of work at QFI. Men worked with machinery while women worked with their hands. Those men who did not work as supervisors or foremen supervising women or at the packing table worked as machine operator, trayboys, can stackers and retrievers and truckers on jobs involving either the operation of machines or lifting. The lifting that men did was defined as 'heavy work' by the QFI managers, by the men themselves and by the women working at the packing table. Only a few women claimed that they were also performing 'heavy jobs' and that they could perform the work that men did.

What it is like to work in the factory: My experience as a day and night shift worker

It was a balmy October morning in 1993 when I set off for Mauswagon to work as a day-shift factory worker at QFI. This was a significant day for me, after months of meetings and negotiations and waiting to be granted permission to gain access to the factory.

While I was riding on a *jeepney* on my way to Mauswagon, I could not help but feel apprehensive that there would be a last-minute cancellation. I had waited for that day for six months and could hardly believe that it had finally arrived. Since it was still around five o'clock in the morning, there was no traffic and few passengers along the way. It was only when we were two *barangay* (villages) from Mauswagon that the driver stopped and picked up the first QFI workers. QFI buses picked up passengers from the northern and southern sides of Misamis Oriental. The bus that picked up passengers from the northern side would pass by Cagayan de Oro City, so workers from neighbouring villages took that bus.

The ride was smooth: no traffic jam, no bustling pedestrians and very few passengers. I tried to recall the past months of waiting. I remembered when I had first conceptualised my research and prepared for the field-work component. Reviewing previous studies of women's work, especially on the modern industrial sector, I had learned how difficult it was to gain direct access to the factory as a worker. The problem of access was compounded by the time limitations of my field work. I could not afford to spend a lot of time in going through the process of formally applying for a factory job in the usual way with the possibility of rejection. Recognising these limitations, I had structured my study so that I could complete it without hands-on experience as a factory worker. However, I continued to believe that participant observation and actual experience of what it was like to be a factory worker would enrich my understanding of women and factory work. Since I was not allowed to work in the factory during the first six months, I concentrated on my Baseline Study and Survey of Mauswagon.

The 30-minute *jeepney* ride from Cagayan de Oro City to Mauswagon was spent trying to remember the tour I had made inside the process plant duration. I tried my best to

recall everything that I had observed during the tour in the hope that this would prepare me for my first day as a factory worker.

At the gate, the workers showed their identification cards and I had to approach the guard for a temporary permit. This time everything went smoothly. I was issued a permit right away, since management had given the guard notice of my entry and I was expected. There was another entrance for people and vehicles going into the compound, guarded by security guards. If a visitor without an entry permit had managed to get by the guards at the first entrance, she or he would not escape scrutiny by the guards on duty at the second entrance. Guards inspected all bags, and cameras had to be deposited at the guard post. Visitors were not allowed to take pictures inside the QFI compound, so I deposited my camera and other belongings each time I went inside QFI. I noticed that halfway between the second guard post and the processing plant, women formed a queue. I later learned that a woman from the personnel office reported early to distribute the daily time-record cards of workers at this queue. Workers had to punch in the time they reported to work and the time they went out. The women then proceeded to the building on the left side where their lockers were located so they could deposit their bags and other possessions. The wearing of jewellery and wrist watches was prohibited to avoid the risk of accidentally dropping them on the running conveyor. QFI management was extremely careful to ensure that no foreign objects could get inside the pineapple cans. Both women and men inside the processing plant had to wear white hairnets and I had been issued with a hairnet the previous day. Even during public tours, visitors were issued with hairnets to be worn inside in the factory.

The cannery manager assigned a supervisor as my contact person. I thought that I would be working at the packing table as soon as the siren signalled the beginning of the working day. However, I was treated like a new employee. The shift supervisor gave me an orientation. Some of the information she provided I had already learned during the tour, but some was new.

According to the supervisor, fifteen truckloads of pineapples took only one hour for processing. A truckload of pineapples weighed 8.5 tons; thus 8.5 tons multiplied by 15 was the process rate per hour. From June 1991 to June 1992, QFI had produced 1 million cans of processed pineapples.

The supervisor instructed me not to forget my hairnet, which was for sanitation purposes. QFI ordered the hairnets from the US. I was told that blouses and dresses should not have buttons, which might fall by accident onto the conveyor belt and get inside a pineapple can. As she briefed me, I felt disoriented because everything around me seemed to be moving. The running conveyors made me feel as though I was in a moving vehicle.

The supervisor was soft-spoken, patient and good at dealing with the workers. She told me that women should be handled respectfully:

> Though they may appear to be lowly factory workers, some have raised children who finished college and are already engineers and pharmacists. Even those who have earned college degrees still prefer to work here because the pay is good.

At break time the cannery supervisor had to attend to production matters so she took me to another male supervisor. The male supervisor, in turn, took me to the room where the forewomen were gathered and introduced me to them. I was not able to hear clearly how he introduced me because the noise of the running cans was deafening. I thought that the last words he mentioned were 'special hire' and that I needed an orientation regarding the work at the packing table. I did not know how to react because I did not know how management would explain my presence to the cannery supervisors. The forewomen treated me coldly. Some ignored my presence while others looked me over from head to foot. In the silence after the introduction, somebody blurted out, 'Who's your mother?' I was caught off-guard and was not able to answer right away. She repeated the question. I was about to tell her that my mother had passed away but I was not able to because somebody signalled that break time was over. Everyone had to return to the packing table.

As I recovered from the surprise of being asked what seemed a most unlikely question, it dawned on me that the women were trying to determine how I had obtained my job. The two most likely reasons were either that someone occupying a high position had backed me, or I was given priority in hiring because my mother or father had worked at QFI as a factory worker or office worker. I surmised that the women thought that I was a newly hired worker or somebody on probation. Perhaps I was a threat to them or they might have felt apprehensive that I would be given a higher position than the ones they occupied. The woman who seemed to be the leader among the forewomen assigned me

to Nenen, another forewoman who seemed to be in her late 20s or early 30s. Nenen appeared to be the youngest of the forewomen.

As we were on our way to the packing table, Nenen could not contain her curiosity. She asked me if I was training for a supervisory position. She explained that all who held supervisory positions had to undergo hands-on training in the various departments of QFI. They usually started at the packing table, which was the lowest level in the production hierarchy of QFI. I told her honestly why I was at QFI and briefly explained my research. As my purpose became clearer - that I wanted to communicate what it was like to work in the factory in my study - and as she realised that I was not a threat to her position, her attitude toward me warmed. Her scepticism softened to disbelief. She told me that she could not remember anyone before me being allowed by management into restricted areas inside the processing plant, much less being allowed to work as well.

Nenen explained that the women at the packing table each performed a specific task. They could not jump from one task to the other. If one was assigned as a poker she would work as a poker for the whole shift. The women had no choice; the forewomen gave them their assignments. According to Nenen, men have heavy hands. Pineapples would be broken into pieces if men handled them. She added that this was the main reason why women were assigned to the packing table.

At this point, I was overwhelmed. I was suffering from information overload compounded by the noise. The cannery supervisor and Nenen had provided me with a wealth of information. I had been given access to areas normally restricted to the public. However, I could feel that the other forewomen and workers were not pleased. They were stealing furtive glances at me. They might have wondered why, as a newcomer, I was given so much consideration. When Nenen asked me if I was ready to work at one of the tables, I could not say no, even though my head was aching.

She handed me over to the forewoman at the particular table who immediately told me that I should attend to the piles of pineapples. I had to separate those without blemish from those with 'eyes' and brown spots and I had to do it quickly since the pokers next to me were also waiting. There were a number of spindles on which I had to place the separated pineapples. I worked for two hours, standing on the job assigned to me. I had not realised until then just how long two hours could seem to be. I had to be fast or I

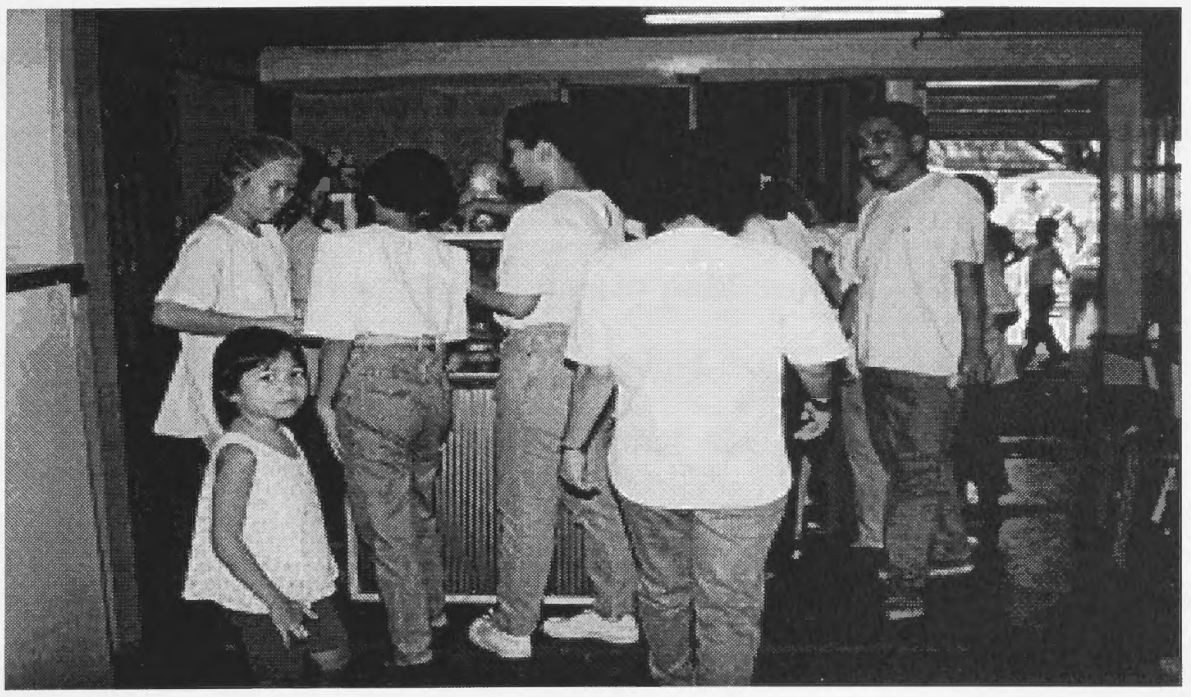
could not keep up with the workload. Perhaps noticing how serious I was and sensing how tired I was, the forewoman on our table approached me. She told me that it was really hard work but I would get used to it and that the succeeding days would not be as difficult as my first day. Although her voice lacked warmth and sounded abrupt, I could sense that it was her way of reassuring and encouraging me.

Then the siren blew signalling the noon break. I had heard the siren before while collecting the Baseline and Survey data over six months in Mauswagon. The siren then had no meaning to me, other than enabling me to check my watch. This time, it was the most welcome sound I had ever heard. The cannery supervisor approached me and told me that I had to report at 1:00 p.m. He instructed me to leave my work at the packing table because I had to report at exactly one o'clock in the afternoon for an orientation in the cookroom.

I decided to eat my packed lunch in the house of one of my informants for the in-depth interviews. Before I went there, I decided to take pictures of the scenes outside the factory. I had been bringing my camera for some time but I had never taken photographs inside the QFI compound since picture-taking was prohibited. There were so many activities each day that I was in the field that I never had the opportunity to take pictures. Since it was lunch break time, women were going out from the factory in droves. I took photos of them crossing the street. Then I asked a few women who were heading to a nearby restaurant if I could take their picture while they ate their lunch. I told them that the pictures were part of my research documentation. I was apprehensive at first that the women would not allow me to take photographs. However, I discovered that they were more than willing subjects. They seemed to regard picture-taking as fun and as relaxation from factory work.

Plate 6.1. Factory workers coming out from QFI for lunch break

Plate 6.2. Factory workers queuing for food and eating lunch together in a nearby eatery



I reported at exactly 1:00 in the afternoon to one of the offices inside the processing plant. Although the processing plant was hot, the offices were air-conditioned. The cannery manager informed me that someone would accompany me on the tour around the cookroom, which was a part of the processing department. I had passed this area during the tour I made with the students; however, time was so limited that the briefing given by the tour guide was very short. I decided to undergo another tour. The processing department had three sections: the cookroom, where the cans were covered ready for cooking; the plant process, where cooking, cooling, and palletising occurred; and the aseptic crush where pineapples were crushed. The tour included the section where the cans were manufactured. It was fascinating to watch how cans of different sizes were made. The engineer who was one of the supervisors assigned in the

cookroom told me that men were in charge in this area since they operated the machines. The tour was so interesting that I did not realise that three hours had passed. At 3:00 o'clock, the siren blew signalling the end of the day-shift.

During the second day, I underwent an orientation in the Liquids Department where different types of juice, but mainly pineapple juice, were processed. I opted to spend the next two days at the Personnel Section and the mini-library where the publications were stored, examining documents and company publications. I had not been given access to these before because the officer-in-charge had been out of town. When she returned, I tried to maximise my use of the time that she was available. One of the marked differences between a regular factory worker and myself was that I could opt to work in the factory or spend my time in the mini-library or Personnel Section doing documentary research. I scheduled my participant observation from time to time and allocated time for documentary research while I was given access to the inside of QFI.

Since I had told the management that I wanted to work and observe women assigned to the night shift, this had been arranged and the group supervisor for the night had been informed. I arrived earlier than the appointed time so I had to wait for the group supervisor. When he arrived he called the forewoman on one of the packing tables and informed her that I would be assigned to her table for that night. The assignment was still part of the packing table work orientations and I would be given a chance to work at each of the tasks at the packing table. That was another important difference between the regular workers and myself: I could move from one task to the other, while regular workers had to perform the same task for the whole shift.

I chose to start near the *ginaca* machine, the trimmer, so that I could progress toward the end of the table and try each type of work. My first job was to trim the ends not trimmed by the *ginaca* machine. I was warned to hold on to my knife firmly because anything dropped would be carried away by the conveyor. Only the ends of the fruit should be cut and the fleshy part should be avoided as much as possible to avoid wastage. The pineapples had to be handled with the utmost care or else they would be bruised and the quality reduced. I experienced difficulty in handling the sharp knife. Twice the woman standing next to me demonstrated how to hold the knife properly, as well as the direction to trim the pineapples so that I would not hurt myself or others. A special technique was required in handling the knife.

I was so absorbed in my work that I did not notice the time until the worker standing opposite told me that it was break time, time to eat supper. I did not feel like eating, so I decided to have just a snack before reporting back to work. I bought a sandwich and a bottle of Coke from the canteen to keep me awake. While I was drinking my Coke at the canteen, a woman approached my table and smiled at me. Although I did not recognise her, she introduced herself and informed me that we were assigned to the same table. She had been sitting next to the girl who was directly opposite where I was standing. She assured me that things would improve as soon as I became used to the work. I suppose she had heard when my attention was called for not holding the knife properly. She told me that she was also new at QFI. I wanted to explain to her the real reason why I was working at QFI. She obviously thought that I was just a new worker. However, she did not give me the chance to explain because she was so enthusiastic in sharing her own experience regarding her work. She told me that her mother was also a factory worker. Thus, she had been given priority in hiring because she was a dependent of a QFI worker. When it was my turn to speak, we were signalled that it was time to go back to work.

Before returning to the packing table, I went to the glove department to change my gloves. Water had seeped inside them and my hands were wet. When I reported to work, Nenen, the forewoman who had accompanied me on the tour three days earlier, approached me to say that the Group Supervisor had approved my visit to the crush department. This department had not been operating during my tour. I had to obtain the agreement of the forewoman assigned to the table where I was working before I could visit the crush department.

The crush department had fewer workers than the packing table area. I was introduced to the supervisor. These workers had more years of schooling than the women at the packing table. Women had to have at least attained college level education to be assigned to the crush area. Nenen explained that this was because of the technical requirements of the job. The crush workers also had a higher grade classification than the women at the packing table, who were classified as Grade 2.

From the crush department we proceeded to the grading and washing area at the flume. I was gaining an overall perspective on the process and flow of pineapple canning. On the first tour I had suffered from information overload; too much information in too

short a time. Having familiarised myself with the actual operations, I was no longer so confused about the sequence of processing activities. We revisited the receiving area. As I passed the *ginaca* feeders, I noticed their agility and speed. They were not supposed to miss a single paddle in feeding the pineapple to the machine. Their hourly rate was 10 cents more than that paid to the women at the packing table. Factory workers were paid on an hourly basis, hence they were called 'hourlies'

After the tour, I reported back to the table I was assigned to earlier and resumed my work of trimming ends. By nine o'clock in the evening I was adept at handling the knife. By ten o'clock, I was tired and my arms were aching. I noticed there were many eyes left in the fruit. The woman standing next to me explained that there was something wrong with the *ginaca* machine. We had to work much faster since the machine was not working well and we had to keep up. The faster I worked, the faster the pineapples kept coming. I had to hurry in order to intercept the fruits that needed to be trimmed or have their eyes removed before they passed through the slicing machine. I discreetly asked my companion when the next break would be. 'It is really difficult to be working,' she replied before telling me that there would be a break at 11 o'clock.

I thought I would not be able eat a single slice of pineapple ever again. I felt that I had had enough of them that night to last me a lifetime. I suffered from terrible pains in my back, which had always been weak, and found it hard to keep up with the speed of the conveyor belts. There were so many pineapples, and they just kept on dropping from the *ginaca* machine. Most of the time, they all needed to be trimmed and the eyes needed to be removed as well. My arms seemed to be falling off. Although stools were provided so that the trimmers could sit, it was necessary to stand in order to keep up with the work. It was so noisy that it was difficult to talk to other workers, even to the person next to you. The noise was constant, and one had to shout in order to be heard. I preferred to conserve my energy rather than spend effort straining my ears and shouting.

It was break time. The forewoman approached and asked me if I had been issued with tickets for snacks. I told her that I had brought my own sandwich with me. While I was about to get my sandwich from my bag, the male supervisor saw me and asked the same question about the snack tickets. I gave the same answer but he told me that I should have tickets and exchange them for food at the canteen. He insisted that I should do so since I was still working at the preparation table. He told me that I could make other

arrangements when I reported as a staff member. I realised that he also thought that I was on training for a supervisory position. I started explaining my position to him but he interrupted and said that he understood what was going on. I then proceeded to the glove section, where I was issued with an orange and a yellow ticket.

For my yellow ticket, I was given *ensaymada* (rolled bread with sugar and raisins on top), and a cup of hot water and packets of coffee, creamer and sugar. The cup was made of tin. I sat opposite somebody at a table, introduced myself and asked her name. She told me that her name was Nena and she had been working at QFI for 15 years. She was married with three children. Her husband stayed at home and 'kept house.' However, although he assisted her in doing the housework, she still performed the bulk of it. I asked her if her back was aching due to the work at the packing table. She answered that she could no longer feel the pain. Only after shift work did she feel tiredness. She informed me that she had developed varicose veins due to standing most of the day or night, depending on the shift. I gave her my two *ensaymada* since I could not eat them. She told me that she would give them to her children. Nena told me that my orange ticket would be for the 1:45 a.m. break.

During the break some of the workers retouched their lipstick. Others stretched and lay down at the benches. Others ate their own food, rice and viand - fish or pork or vegetables. I wrote my report in the office before returning to the preparation table. The contrast between working conditions in the factory and the office was very noticeable. It was very warm at the packing table, while the office was air-conditioned, and the noise of the cans and machines could hardly be heard.

I went back to the packing table and this time worked as a poker. At first, poking seemed to be a much easier job than cutting the ends and trimming. The pineapples were not on a running conveyor belt but were stationary on top of the packing table. My hands had been constantly wet while I did the trimming, and the conveyor belt had been so fast in transporting the pineapples to the next processing stage. The pineapples were selected out by the women standing opposite if they were for poking; the perfect ones were classified as 'fancy'.

As I poked the eyes of the pineapples continuously for hours, again I felt the strain and tiredness. The task was like climbing a mountain or hiking. At first it seemed that no

effort was needed. However, after a time, especially because there was no end in sight, every step seemed harder than the last. But even though poking was tiring and monotonous, the work was definitely easier than trimming. Nenen told me that the women assigned to one table for one shift would be moved to the next table for the next shift. This was a way of ensuring fairness, since the tables running Types 2 and 1/2 machines never ran out of pineapples. These tables were called *bahog-bahog* (denoting 'so much'). I noticed that the woman standing next to me was pregnant; I later learned that she was in her sixth month of pregnancy. I discreetly asked her how she was. She told me that she was fine, except for her aching legs. Then, it was break time.

I ate my snacks in the mess hall at around 1:45 a.m. I was so tired that I was not in the mood to talk to anyone. I wanted to crawl into my bed and sleep. However, around me conversation flourished. The women were discussing a new type of chair, a topaz chair, on display at the local department store. The woman who started the conversation wanted to buy on credit six topaz chairs for her house. She also wanted to buy a washing machine. She added that with the washing machine she would not care if her helper (domestic servant) returned to her home, as the helper was not good at washing dirty clothes. From their conversation, I realised that the factory workers could afford amenities that were not affordable to women working outside the factory.

After 15 minutes, it was back to work again. No stools were available at the poking table. Workers assigned as pokers for a particular shift must stand the whole night or for the entire shift, except during breaks. Although the workers assigned to trimming and classifying pineapples stood for most of their work, they could rest occasionally because stools were provided in the working area. All work at the preparation table was physically tiring. The noise of the machines and running cans was itself exhausting. Feet, legs, and back ached. Arms were tired, fingers sore and eyes sleepy.

At long last the 5:00 a.m. siren sounded; it was the end of the night shift. The women hurried to the glove section and surrendered their gloves. Almost all of us had soft white hands due to constant contact with water, despite the gloves. The women retrieved their bags from the lockers. Some washed up, combed their hair or retouched their lipstick. It was morning. From conversations overheard, most looked forward to bed and sleep, but others were discussing the tasks that needed to be done at home. The night shift, which had started at three the previous afternoon, was over.

The maintenance staff cleaned the work areas. The floor was cleaned with water hoses. Some of the day-shift forewomen were already at work. They had to report an hour earlier to prepare the knives, pokers, spindles and other materials. For the morning-shift workers the day was only just beginning.

What It Is Like To Work in the Factory: Reflections and analysis

A double life is frequently required of the fieldworker who is involved as a participant in whatever little world is under study while at the same time attempting to record and make sense out of the world as an observer. (Deutcher in Bogdan and Taylor, 1975: vi.)

From October 1993 to the third week of December 1993, I was in and out of QFI as a participant observer in the factory, as a worker at the packing table where most of the women were assigned. On the occasions when I did my participant observation, according to Jorgensen's (1989: 55) classification of images of participation, I was an 'observer-as-participant' (more a participant than observer). This section is a reflection on and an analysis of the method I employed as well as the insights I gained about women and factory work as I worked as a factory worker.

Although I had a dual purpose in my factory immersion, both to participate and to observe, the scale weighed more toward participation. I wanted to experience how it was to be a woman working in the factory. I had interviewed women regarding their factory work; but to experience an insider's view, no matter how short the time compared to the real-life experience of the factory worker herself, made my analysis of the interviews more meaningful. The interviews attained meaning from my experience and observations while working as a trimmer, poker or any of the other tasks I performed when assigned to the packing table.

Jorgensen (1989: 33) pointed out the danger that a participant observer might find it difficult to stand back and produce a productive outlook on the topic of interest as she or he became submerged in the setting. From time to time during my participation I was able to stand back by withdrawing from the setting to review events by reading and re-reading my notes, as well as to play back the events in my memory. I hurriedly took notes during breaktime just before I reported back to work at the office of the night

supervisor which was adjacent to the preparation table. During the break workers were allowed to collect fresh gloves if water had seeped inside those they had been using. I made use of this time to write my notes. The notes were not extensive, but I used them as cues for the more extensive report I would write after the shift. Sometimes I just drew objects that I could decipher later.

I was also able to withdraw periodically from the field to an academic setting where I discussed events (but not the personal details) with other researchers and academicians in a nearby research institute where I was based when I was not in the field. I presented a work-in-progress seminar in the research institute and elicited comments and suggestions from those who attended.

I was both an overt and covert participant observer in the factory. QFI management and some staff holding supervisory positions in the factory knew about my research. One of the forewomen knew why I was in the factory. Some of the factory workers who were included in the Baseline Study and sample Survey noticed my presence in the factory. Some of them inquired when they met me in the vicinity of Mauswagon, and I explained that it was a continuation of the research that I was conducting in which they had been respondents. However, I could not explain my presence to everyone (850 workers per shift). Some thought that I was a new worker and others thought I was on training for a supervisory position. Since I did not follow the work assignments of the women on the same table and shift, I met different co-workers. Because I still had to gather information about the factory and factory work outside the packing section, I had to balance my time among several tasks. Due to my status as a non-regular worker, I was often assigned to answer calls for more workers on a *bahog-bahog* table.

Looking back, gaining entry into the factory was the most laborious and exacting aspect of participant observation. However, the difficulties in gaining entry produced productive outcomes. Because of the time it took to actually make contact with QFI management, I was able to concentrate first on my other methods of research, namely the baseline study, sample Survey and in-depth interviews. Having completed these stages, I was then prepared for the more arduous task of participant observation. The earlier methods provided me with a background and identified those aspects I wanted to explore further in the participant observation.

How did the participant observation help in understanding women's experience? It gave me first hand experience of what it was like to be a factory worker, as previously described to me by factory worker informants in the in-depth interviews. My experience gave me an in-depth view of factory life. As a result, I became more attuned to the full meaning of what the factory workers were telling me: their problems, the pressures they faced at work, the fatigue and hard work. I experienced for myself how tedious the work was that they did. I saw factory work from their perspective and I saw how work was divided by sex within the work place: what women and men were doing. I caught glimpses of how women related with one another, their consumption patterns and their way of life.

Segregation of male and female workers was widespread at QFI, and was very marked in the processing department. Women were confined to what were classified by management as 'unskilled' or 'semi-skilled' jobs in the preparation department (packing tables), crush department and quality control. Men dominated in more 'skilled' jobs which involved the operation of machines. Only one woman worked in a skilled position as an electric motor rewinder, which was considered a man's job. Sex-typing was a factor in assigning work to women and men. Hence at QFI two worlds existed side by side: the preparation table was a woman's world while machinery operation and maintenance was a man's world. Production managers' justification, for their preference for women or men for particular jobs were predominantly based on stereotypes.

Several assumptions about sex characteristics made by QFI management, by male workers and by women themselves were shown to be wrong by my own experience on the factory floor. QFI management argued that they preferred women workers because they had a 'tender touch' and dexterous hands. As a production manger explained, pineapples were like infants and since women were used to taking care of babies, they were also good at handling pineapples. However, not all workers were married and some married workers who did not have children yet probably had no experience of handling babies. Women were also thought to be attentive to small details and good at monotonous and repetitive tasks but men did not possess these qualities. However, not all women were good at performing boring and repetitive tasks. For example, I was bored by the repetitive tasks of removing crowns, poking eyes of pineapples, and

trimming edges of pineapples. The rest of the workers felt bored as well. However, the only alternative for women who did not want to perform these monotonous tasks was to quit and the chances of finding another job with a similar level of pay were close to nil. Thus, they accepted the monotony. I accepted the monotony for the sake of my research; the women accepted it because of the pressure they faced to provide money for their households. No matter how boring and tedious the work was, most of the women had to endure it. They told me that their consolation was the benefits they would get from their pay.

Unlike the men using the machines, the women at the preparation table were not formally trained to perform their work. Like me, a newcomer was only given an orientation with the departments at the processing plant and the tasks each department performed. After the orientation she would be assigned immediately to work at one of the preparation tables. Management assumed that the women brought with them homemaker's skills of handling the knife and holding the pineapples with care. Although I too am a woman, I reported at the preparation table with little skill in handling the knife to trim the pineapples. Although, the elderly woman next to me patiently demonstrated to me twice how to handle the knife, I heard her mumble 'what has she been doing in her kitchen if she has not learned the basics of handling a knife'. However, despite my initial lack of skill I soon learned. I think that a man, like me, could equally have learned this skill if he needed to. Such skills are not inherent due to sex, but are created by social conditioning and experience.

I realised that those skills that woman had learned at home were not considered as technical. Hence, women assigned to the preparation table were classified as unskilled. However, the classification of the women's work as 'unskilled' was a misnomer. The work at the preparation tables did need skills, but because these skills were either gained at home or on-the-job, they were regarded as non-skills. By contrast, the men who were working with machines at QFI underwent formal training on how to operate them. If a new machine was introduced, training again was conducted on its operation. Because of this training, men's work was classified as semi-skilled or skilled. Thus it almost seemed as if women were being discriminated against, or at least disadvantaged, because of their prior skills gained from home. Not only were the skills not recognised

for the purposes of reward, but the women were denied access to training and jobs requiring other skills.

My personal experiences and observations on the life and work of women factory workers have much in common with the observations of other researchers. During the day, I wrote notes on the snippets of conversation I overheard during break time and even on conversations with the factory workers. As I re-read them at night and tried to make sense of my experience, and as I wrote this thesis, I was able to relate my experiences with what I had previously read in the literature. Heyzer and Kean (1988: 15) noted that women bore the 'drudgery and hardship of factory work because it gave them access to a higher disposable income to spend on personal consumption.' They concluded that creating consumption needs was a vital factor affecting the entry and staying power of workers in the industrial workforce. Cunningham (1987: 308) had also noted Brazilian factory women's desire to improve their material well-being by the acquisition of durable consumer goods and other trappings of the urban dweller.

Working in the factory, I realised and experienced for myself the great pressure that the women often faced to work very fast to meet the production quota for a particular shift. This produced a high level of physical and mental stress. The production quota, and the stress, was higher during heavy-canning days. Forewomen and foremen were quite strict in calling the attention of women whom they perceived as not performing well. Workers were under strict instructions to maintain the quality of the pineapples. The fruit had to be handled with the utmost care since the higher the quality the higher would be the price for the processed goods. The highest quality fancy pack commanded a higher price than the crushed pineapples or the tidbits. Those pineapples of bad appearance that could not be salvaged even for the crush were used for juice extraction.

Sometimes the pressure was so great that the women reacted in ways that gave them some-control over their situation. For example, at times the women intentionally mashed the pineapples so that they would not have to undergo the process of re-sizing, slicing portions with eyes and brown spots and poking. They did this especially at those times when there were large amounts of pineapple to be processed and until they had all been brought to the processing area no one could go home. Mashing was the technique used to hasten things and the mashed pineapples would go straight to the conveyor for

juice extraction. Thus, mashing pineapples was a form of resistance on the women's part to the high pressure and tight control they faced in the factory.

To suggest that I was able to become fully a part of the factory workers' world or even that I have been able to fully understand the factory workers and their lives would be grievously erroneous. I worked at the factory and undertook the same assignments and work hours as the other factory workers. However, I was not strictly subjected to the discipline of the forewoman assigned to the particular table. I had more lee-way than the regular workers as to where I would be assigned. Although I took my work at the factory seriously, I knew that after my research was finished I would not have to do that work. As Van Maanen (1982b: 149) wrote:

> Ethnography involves participant observation, but observation is the governing term because no matter how far researchers may move in the opposite direction, they remain outsiders who will eventually leave the field, write reports, and move on in ways quite different from those studied.

Conclusion

The case study of the processing plant at QFI offered an opportunity to observe the inner workings of the food processing plant. The factory was atypical of multi-national companies because it has existed in the Philippines since the late 1920s, whereas others were only established in more recent years. However, it was typical in that it employed a large number of women.

QFI had a tradition of paternalism and welfare schemes. It tried to project the image of a large happy family and even gave priority in hiring to dependents of workers and employed the *backer* system in its recruitment. Women therefore felt indebted to the company for hiring them or to the person who had backed their application. Hence, women were reluctant to air grievances or complaints about their work conditions lest they be regarded as *walay igabalos* (ungrateful).

The sex division of labour was very evident in QFI. Sex segregation was manifested in horizontal and vertical segregation that favoured men over women. Women's jobs were associated with manual work and were classified as the bottom of the hierarchy. Sex-typing was a major factor in work assignment for women and men. Men were not assigned to the packing tables nor were women assigned to machinery-setting or central

maintenance, except for a lone woman motor rewinder. A few men worked with women in the processing department but they were supervisors, foremen and trayboys.

The decision as to whether a particular task was assigned to women or men was made primarily based on stereotypes regarding women and men's physical and behavioural attributes. Such stereotyping and segregation re-inforced the view that women and men were suited to different types of work.

The work labelling and the physical and psychological stereotypes attributed to women and men placed women in a disadvantaged position. Women were assigned to dead-end jobs with few opportunities for upward mobility. Their positions were classified as 'unskilled'. The paradox of this 'unskilled' classification was apparent when QFI managers explained why women were assigned to work in the preparation tables by enumerating the 'skills' needed that they perceived were possessed by women. These included manual skills, visual acuity, tender touch, extreme patience and attentiveness to detail. However, they found it fitting to pay women who possessed these 'skills' less than men who did not possess such 'skills' and who had to be trained by the factory before they could perform their 'skilled' tasks. Unlike men's tasks, the tasks women were assigned to do required little training in the factory. Thus, women workers were not given the opportunity to learn new skills.

Although women were generally tolerant of the rigid control exercised by QFI over worker productivity, forms of resistance occurred, especially when they felt they had been unjustly treated and the physical toil was most severe. Resistance was especially likely to occur when they were required to work longer hours because of high production targets during the heavy canning months.

The use of participant observation as a research method to gather qualitative data inside the factory enabled me to gain an understanding of women's and men's work in the factory that I may not have captured using other methods. The next chapter follows the women from the factory to their homes and explores the question: who does the housework?

7 Life Beyond the Factory Gates:
Who does the housework?

How I wish work would really end when the buzzer sounds, signalling the end of a shift. Once I go home another kind of work awaits... the household chores.
Nora, 39 years old, married, factory worker, October 4, 1993

Nora

Nora works as a fancy packer at QFI. She was one of the factory workers assigned to the packing table where the pineapples were trimmed and canned. Nora, however, insisted that there was nothing fancy about her work as a fancy packer. 'It is hard work, very hard work,' she described it emphatically. 'It needs visual acuity, speed, patience and discipline.'

Nora had to pick up the pineapple slices, segregate the defective slices (those that need re-sizing, poking for half eyes, or slicing of brown spots), and arrange the good slices according to colour. At times she worked as an end picker (trimming and cutting the remaining crown that had not been removed by the machine) or brown-spot remover. 'Things would be easier if we (factory workers) were not racing against time. We have to keep up with the speed of the line and the pineapples just keep coming.' A supervisor confirmed that the company cannot afford to waste time or the quality of the pineapples would be affected.

Because of this Nora returned home each day with an aching back, neck and arms. She had to stand for the better part of the day since, according to her, it was difficult to work while seated. 'The work is physically tiring. How I wish work really ended when the buzzer sounds signalling the end of a shift,' she sighed. 'Once I go home another kind of work awaits. . . the household chores.'

Aim and approach

This chapter examines the inter-relationship of factory work, housework and gender. Does women's participation in factory work make a difference to their work and roles at home? It considers the impact of women's participation in the labour force on their personal lives, particularly on their domestic roles at home of which we still know very little. It starts with a brief account of Nora's situation, describing the transition from factory work to the housework that awaits at home. The approach used is briefly explained and the questions to be answered are posed before the literature on the importance of the study of housework, the meaning of housework, and the division of labour at home are reviewed. The chapter also reviews the relationship between housework and women's and men's perceived roles at home. Following the literature review, the findings from Mauswagon are presented.

In this study, factory workers' participation in housework is compared with that of homemakers and non-factory workers. Women's work roles at home are investigated in relation to those of men, comparing the time spent on housework by the various categories of men and women in the study. Gender relations in connection with housework are explored because gender is important to the way work is organised and work is central in the social construction of gender (Game and Pringle, 1983: 14).

Although this chapter adopts a comparative approach between men and women, it focuses particularly on women. This is because of the rigidity of the traditional sex division of labour within the family in which women are expected to bear most of the burden of housework. This chapter seeks to answer the questions: Does market work free women or at least reduce the time they spend on housework, a work role traditionally assigned to them? Does the time spent on housework by women vary by household size? Among married women, I also examine the effect on the time spent in housework according of the number of children under seven years of age. I have further classified women according to the age of their youngest child to see whether this affected the time they spent on housework.

Finally, this chapter not only examines the numerical data on time spent on the various household activities for which data were obtained during the survey; it also attempts to provide meaning to those numbers by letting the women tell their stories, so that we can

better understand their lives. For those who worked outside the home, the impact of additional work that awaited them at home is revealed in their stories. The stories of the homemakers describe the work they performed while staying at home. Housework is usually classified as non-gainful work and those who perform it are classified as non-workers in the census and labour force surveys. However, the quantitative data and the qualitative data from the in-depth interviews with homemakers show that a great deal of time and effort were exerted in the performance of housework.

The study of housework: Its importance

Domestic and community work, which are predominantly considered to be women's work in most societies, have also been considered as of low status and so insignificant that they do not merit 'record analysis' (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984: 5). This generally negative attitude toward housework seems to reflect a gender-bias: men's work is important while women's work is not.

Most societies tend to undervalue housework; it has been suggested that housework lost its economic value when the workplace was separated from the home (Kung, 1983: 4). With modernisation and economic development, a society of almost diametrically polarised zones has been created by removing production from the household: one zone (the workplace) economic in nature and centred on production, the other (the home) non-economic in nature and centred on reproduction (Boydston, 1990: xv). This division has been noted to also define, to a large extent, the public sphere and the private sphere (Pennington and Westover, 1989: 1; Whip and Lupton, 1992: 177). The public sphere refers to the workplace, while the private sphere refers to the home. As a result, women's domestic roles have been separated from their wage-work and the primary relationship between production and reproduction overlooked (Little, 1994: 108). Domestic work has often been trivialised; the hours of domestic work that women perform are ignored in statistics and government reports, and men are considered to work longer hours than women (Glazer, 1980: 256). Domestic work has not been acknowledged as 'real work' (Pennington and Westover, 1989: 5). Until very recently, housework had been defined as private and denied public recognition (Cox, 1993: vii).

Twenty years ago, Oakley's (1974) pioneering work, *The Sociology of Housework*, attempted to seriously examine housework and the gendered division of labour. It was

received with mixed reactions since housework was not then taken seriously as a topic of study. However, the work conveyed an important point, that it is actually necessary to study housework in order to understand the position of women. Recent literature (Berk, 1980; Ferree, 1980; Glazer, 1980, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Sharpe, 1984; Moore and Sawhill, 1984; Chant, 1987; Humphrey, 1987; von Werlhof, 1988; Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1988; Goodnow, 1989; Vanek, 1984; Ironmonger, 1989; Boydston, 1990; Collins, 1990; Baxter, 1993; Goodnow and Bowes, 1994; Wolcott and Glezer, 1995) has accepted this challenge and stressed the importance of examining women's unpaid work. 'If we have understood housework,' von Werlhof (1988: 168) claimed, 'then we have understood everything.'

Berk (1980: 17) claimed that even a cursory look at the literature on women and their work would immediately illustrate the many good reasons for exploring women's unpaid productive activities. Women's unwaged work cannot be separated from their waged work. Unwaged work has a decisive effect on women's identity as waged workers (Sinclair, 1991: 2); hence, women's paid and unpaid work is correlated. Women's domestic role influences their ability to join in paid work (Little, 1994: 108). Thus, domestic work has been identified as the main barrier for women to enter the labour force (Chant, 1987: 290; Luck, 1991: 33). The organisation of housework at home is one of the factors why women in some families are more likely than others to take on paid employment (Chant, 1987: 290). This is specifically true for married women. The double burden of domestic work and paid work make it difficult for them to secure full-time jobs (Pennington and Westover, 1989: 4). For those who succeed, the demands of household tasks keep them too busy to advance very far in the paid workforce (Burns, 1994: 273).

For many, if not most, women housework makes up a significant aspect of their lives and forms much of their daily experience of the world (Ferree, 1980: 89). Without paying attention to this 'invisible' labour and the social relations that encompass it, the varying realities of work and family life for women cannot be fully grasped or even adequately portrayed (Berk, 1980: 15). Even with the increase in the number of studies on housework, 'The full importance of housework remains to be widely recognised' (Foreword by Cox in Baxter, 1993: vii).

Much has been written to support the contention that housework does merit recording and analysis. Berk (1980: 17) aptly summarised the reasons for the study of housework:

> It could be difficult to exhaust the rationales for why household labour is worthy of study, partly because of its prior neglect, but also because it so shapes and orders the constraints, opportunities, and costs of everyday existence.

Housework: What does it mean?

The terms that have been applied to 'work without wages' are manifold and diverse, indicating the variety that is inherent in the structure and quality of these experiences (Collins, 1990: 4). Collins (1990: 4) identified domestic labour and housework under the work without wages category and defined them as follows:

> 'Domestic labour' is a term that has been applied to a wide variety of productive tasks within the home - the cooking, food processing, cleaning, sewing, mending and gardening . . . while 'housework' has generally been used to refer to that more limited, and perhaps more highly technologized, range of activities performed (mainly by women) in home today.

In this chapter, the terms *domestic labour, household chore, household task*, and *housework* are used interchangeably.

No single attribute will define either work in the household or housework (Goodnow, 1989:39).

> Housework, for instance, is distinguished from other forms of work by the fact that it is done in households, usually unpaid, often done by women, invisible, repetitive, under valued, likely to expand to fit the time available, resistant to change and oddly difficult to pass on (Goodnow, 1989: 39).

By household work we mean the tasks of cooking, shopping, cleaning, laundry, mowing lawns, fixing fuses, looking after the children - in short, the tasks that make up a large part of everyday life and that confront many of us with the necessity to work out which jobs need to be done and who should do them (Goodnow and Bowes, 1994: 1).

Between the Civil War and the Depression in the United States, a growing number of women recognised housework as a key mechanism for gender inequality, especially because of its social invisibility in an industrialised society (Hayden,1981). 'Housework can be a form of oppression,' at the same time it can be significant a source of satisfaction to a great number of people (Goodnow and Bowes,1994: 33).

> There is pleasure attached to doing for someone else the things that they clearly cannot do, rather than the things they 'could do for themselves'. And there is pleasure attached to the occasional, voluntary taking on of a task that the other can do and should do but either dislikes or has little time for. In both cases, the work becomes a volunteered gift - a true 'labour of love' - rather than a taken-for-granted part of one's job or an enforced tribute (Goodnow and Bowes, 1994: 33).

Sometimes housework is perceived as a welcome refuge by women from some of the more unpleasant aspects of capitalist work relations because of whom the work is for, self-regulation in the work process, and the appreciation expressed for the quality of one's work (Ferree, 1987: 338)

However, several delusions persist about housework: housewives are thought to work fewer hours, at a slacker pace, and less laboriously and industriously than others (Vanek, 1978: 392; Vanek, 1984: 89). These perceptions were readily contradicted by the houseworkers involved in my 1993 study. In the words of Baby, a 35-year-old married homemaker with a husband working in the factory and mother of three children: 'There is nothing petty in doing housework; I will strongly disagree if people describe it as insignificant. It is not an easy job to be left at home and attend to all the household chores.' To support her case she further described her day:

> I wake up at 5:00 am. From 5 to 6, I prepare our breakfast. From 6:00 to 6:30 I bathe the children and then serve breakfast right after bathing them. At quarter to seven the boys will leave for school. From 7:00 to 9:00 I wash the dirty plates, make the beds, clean the bathroom, and clean the house and yard. From 9:00 to 10:30 I bathe the youngest child then wash the dirty clothes. From 10:30 to 11:00 I prepare the ingredients and cook for lunch. From 11:00 to 12:00 I prepare the table then serve and eat lunch. From 12:00 to 12:30 I wash dirty plates. From 12:30 to 1:00 I assist/prepare children for the afternoon class. From 1:00 to 3:00 PM is siesta time and I put the youngest child to sleep. From 3:00 to 4:00 I water the plants. From 4:00 to 5:00 I take the youngest child for a walk. From 5:00 to 5:30 I remove the dry and clean clothes from the clothes line and fold them. From 5:30 to 6:30 I prepare dinner. From 6:30 to 7:30 I prepare the table, serve and eat dinner. From 7:30 to 8:00 I wash dishes and clean the kitchen. From 8:00 to 9:00 I help the boys with their school assignments or check the assignments the boys did. At 9:00 I get ready for bed.

Baby says that for those who say it is an easy task she would gladly exchange places. There are times when she does not know which task to do first because so many are begging for her attention.

Of all the definitions and perceptions of housework, I find Stephenson's (1970: 91) most telling 'housework is an interesting example of the meaning of work in our society: it counts as work . . . when it is paid for, not when it is undertaken as a 'duty''.

The gendered division of labour at home: Who does the housework?

The earlier literature suggested a clear-cut division between paid (public sphere/workplace) and unpaid work (private sphere/home) and the respective contributions of women and men. However, the balance between paid and unpaid work is not clearly halved between home and workplace Lorber (1994: 173). Women perform more unpaid domestic work than men do (Lorber, 1994: 173), and women do the bulk of the housework at home (Oakley, 1974; Pleck, 1985; Sharpe, 1984; Baxter et al., 1989; Bittman, 1991; Harper and Richards, 1986).

Women are principally responsible for housework and childcare, even if they do paid work. This situation is regarded as a normal (Little, 1994: 108) and 'natural outcome of their procreative capabilities or feminine skills and personality' in today's gendered division of labour (Lorber, 1994: 175). The gendered division of labour has been perceived as an expression of women's and men's natural abilities (Baxter, 1993: 41). As women bear children and men earn more, man's position as the breadwinner is pragmatically sanctioned (Chant, 1987: 289).

Women are more likely to accept responsibility for domestic labour because of the structural barrier imposed on them upon by women's lower earnings, which place them in a dependent position within the family (Baxter, 1993: 2-3). This economic dependence has reinforced female subjugation to male authority; creating a marked imbalance of power within the household and a rigid division of male and female labour (Chant, 1987: 289). It is in the 'family-household' that the division between men and women's work is highlighted and focused (Baxter, 1993: 7).

Power relations determine who performs the housework. For example, Ferree (1987: 339) found some evidence from Heer's (1958) and Hiller's (1980) research findings that the amount of housework men do is more influenced by the relative equality of earnings between husband and wife rather than by men's ideological backing for women's

equality. However, the assumption that equality of earning might increase the amount of housework men performed has been questioned:

> In all Western countries, married women with full-time jobs do more housework than their husbands even if they work throughout their lives and are high earners...how can we explain the persistence of this pattern when wives and husbands are equal earners and even when the wife earns more than her husband? (Lorber, 1994: 188)

Men have greater marital bargaining power to avoid unpleasant domestic chores, and are often motivated to do so by the prevailing societal association of family work with 'womanliness'.

Women's and men's roles and housework

Among the well-established traditional family roles are those of provider and housekeeper (Slocum and Nye, 1976: 81). Women are primarily defined by gender ideology in terms of their role in the home, while men are identified by their role in the paid workforce (Baxter, 1993: 53). According to this definition, women are assigned the housekeeper role and men the provider role. The traditional male role has been that of a 'provider and protector' (Moore and Sawhill, 1978: 208), while women, regardless of what else they do, are assigned the primary roles of wife and mother (Game and Pringle, 1983: 120; Baxter, 1993: 7). Another role with which women are identified is that of non-worker (Baxter, 1993: 7), while men assume the roles of breadwinner (Game and Pringle, 1983: 120) and head of household (Baxter, 1993: 7). Individual women and men are then measured by the roles assigned to them: 'a "good" woman is therefore a "good" wife and mother' (Baxter, 1993: 1).

Providers furnish the goods and services needed by the family while housekeepers take the goods and prepare them for family use (Slocum and Nye, 1976: 81). The housekeeper role can be equated with the universal responsibility carried by women for 'family sustenance and homecare'(Kahne, 1992: 279). The supremacy of the domestic sphere in women's lives is evident in most societies. The outcome of this is that even if men do help with some work at home it is usually assumed by both women and men that it is women who are *responsible* for housework (Oakley, 1976: 92). The persistent identification of women with the domestic sphere, and the expectation on the part of women as well as men that women will continue to define themselves principally in

terms of their roles in the home has had contradictory results for women's achievements within the home and in the paid workforce.

Society tends to expect women to be fully responsible for the reproduction and care of the next generation, even when women have jobs (Heyzer and Kean, 1988: 20). The contradictions for women are plain:

> ...while the participation of women in the economy is encouraged and even a necessity to the economy and to keep the household at a relatively comfortable standard of living, rigid sex-related responsibilities are demanded of them by society with little public institutional support and change in sex-roles within the family (Heyzer and Kean, 1988: 20).

In Mauswagon where my fieldwork was conducted, the community (and the women themselves) expected the women, especially the mothers, to take care of their children. When children were seen roaming around the streets with dirty clothes or faces smudged with dirt, the usual reaction would be to blame the mother for not taking care of them. When children got into trouble, it was the mother who would be held responsible for not attending to or disciplining them. In general, working wives and mothers are not excused by society nor do they excuse themselves from the many exhausting activities that are required by these family roles (Paloma and Garland, 1971 in Chafetz, 1974: 119).

Working women are not as free as working men to compartmentalise their roles and to separate their home- and work-related responsibilities (Johnson and Johnson, 1980 in Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984: 181). The women factory workers I studied could not help but worry at work about a sick child left at home. In fact, one of the main reasons why women absented themselves from work or interrupted their work to rush home was family emergency, usually involving a sick child or children. It was usually the mother's working day that was interrupted rather than the father's. Pleck (1975 in Moore and Sawhill, 1978: 210) referred to this as 'the preferential permeability of the boundaries between work and family roles for each sex'. The demands of the family role for women are allowed to intrude into their work life (Moore and Sawhill, 1978: 210; Pleck, 1984: 16). On the one hand, it is acceptable for women to disrupt their work in order to attend to their families, while on the other hand, it is acceptable for men to pursue occupational advancement and, as a consequence, disrupt their family lives (Mortimer and London, 1984: 28).

A number of reasons have been given to account for men's lack of participation in domestic labour, namely, lack of time (Blood and Wolf, 1960), higher earning potential in paid work than women (Yeandle, 1984), the absence of prescribed domestic roles for men (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984), men's greater power in the household compared with women (Baxter et al., 1989; Ross, 1987), and sex-role socialisation (Sharpe, 1984). A high level of participation in domestic tasks for men may not be consistent with the masculine image they seek to project. Thus, those who undertake housework may be risking their image and be perceived as falling into a domestic net (Sharpe, 1984: 181). Thus, men tend to 'help' instead of accepting responsibility for housework (Baxter et al., 1990: 39).

Women are often resigned to housework. They accept the gendered division of labour as a basic credo of married life. Hence, wives do not expect husbands to do 'women's work' and feel no displeasure at the arrangement (Roberts, 1995: 35). The norms that support a sexual division of labour defining housework and childcare as primarily women's work insulate men from the burden of increased participation in domestic work as women take on paid employment (Lapidus, 1992: 154-155). Such norms may even cause women to reject men's attempts to share the women's domestic burden. Roberts (1995: 36), documenting the lives of women and their families from 1940 to 1970 in three towns in the United Kingdom, noted that there were instances where men were willing to do housework but were not allowed to do so by the women. Wives' excuses for and defence of husbands' non-contribution to domestic work were also enumerated by Burns (1994: 274). They included: husbands' not being good at housework, husbands' allegedly not noticing that it needed doing, and husbands' ability to do the work if 'it was important'.

Women's resistance to men's sharing in housework could be attributed to feelings of insecurity and fear that men may take over some work formerly identified as women's. Women's domestic work does bestow upon them a distinctly marked area of responsibility bearing elements of power, however restricted, and an explicit sense of control (Sharpe, 1984: 181). The home is identified as women's domain. Refusal to allow husbands into the kitchen is a profession of control over at least that area woman has been able to call her own (Rogers, 1980: 20). Another possible reason for women not allowing men to perform what is clearly perceived as a 'womanly' work is that it

violates women's self-concept of a capable wife and mother (Ramu, 1989: 106). Women, especially those who work outside the home, are reluctant to give up some of their domain to men because :

> The home is supposedly women's world - their space to manage and control. Not only is it the site of oppression but also a space defined as theirs to exercise some control over. It is crucial for their identity as the successful shopper, homemaker, and childbearer. . . To relinquish this to men would be the last straw (Game and Pringle, 1983: 137).

There is a conflict in regard to the woman's work role. On one hand, the woman may be overburdened and exploited for performing the double burden of working for pay and performing the housework at home; on the other hand, she will not give up the housework even if she has established her identity as a wage worker who earns a living for the family equally with the men in the household. One explanation could be society's role expectations of a woman. She has been socialised since childhood to believe that it is the woman's role to take care of the house and the family. Keeping the house clean, cooking the food for the husband and children, and seeing to it that children are neat and tidy and the clothes the children and husband are wearing are clean and well pressed are still seen as the responsibility of the wife.

This can be seen in comments made in Mauswagon regarding women's role and by others and by the women themselves. One day while I was on my way to interview an informant, a child fell in a canal and was injured. As people gathered, I heard these comments:

> Where is the *mother* of this child and why is it that she is not taking care of him? She did not even care where her son has gone? [Emphasis added.]

This comment was made by an old lady, around 70 years old, whom I often saw sitting on the bench in a sari-sari store.

A second comment was made by a man, around 40 years old, who was a bystander:

> The *mother* is neglecting her children. I often see this child and his brother and sister without care. Take a look at the clothes. . . Even if the *mother* is working she should not neglect her children . . . [Emphasis added].

The role expectation that a woman should perform housework is true not only for married but also for unmarried women. For an unmarried woman, her performance of housework is a gauge of whether she is ready for marriage or will be a good wife. In the

study area, as well as in other parts of the Philippines, I have heard parents address their daughters:

> You should know how to perform the household tasks before you marry or else you will be scolded by your in-laws or, worse, you will be returned by your husband.
>
> She is a lazy woman; she does not know how to perform household tasks. What will happen to her husband and children if she does not know how to take care of them?

Because of such role expectations, some women were pre-occupied with seeing that their husbands' and children's clothes were properly washed and well pressed. One such was Edna, a 28-year-old church worker who had been married for more than two years. Although she had no child yet, her husband's 4 year-old niece stayed with her and her husband:

> My husband is not meticulous. He is not really particular whether his clothes are properly ironed or not. In fact, he does not mind having 'wash and wear' clothes. But I really see to it that his clothes are properly washed and ironed. I am particular what other people will say, especially in the aspect that I am not taking care of him . . . especially my in-laws. My husband is an ex-seminarian and he was nearing his ordination when we got married. It took quite some time before his family and relatives accepted me. . . . I do not want his family to think that I'm not taking care of him and I also do not want my husband to regret his decision of marrying me.

Some women in Mauswagon said that they had to do the housework because no one else would do the work for them, as in Nora's case. Her daughters were a big help with the housework during weekends but not on weekdays. Her husband was also a shift worker, working at QFI as a lift-truck operator:

> Though both of us work the whole night and go home at the same time, he can afford to sleep the whole morning, if not the whole day, while I have to drag myself out of the bed after two hours of sleep to attend to household chores. Well, I can go on sleeping but I am aware that the chores will not go away; they still have to be attended to.

There were also women who did the housework because they wanted to, and performing housework gave them satisfaction. Brenda, a 33-year-old pre-school teacher, married with two boys aged two and four with her current husband and two girls aged 10 and 11 born before she married her husband, proudly told me:

> I do all the housework at home. My husband does not have a steady job and he is always out of the house looking for possible business . . . I am a homebody. I prefer to stay at home and take care of the house and the family. But I just cannot stay at home with our present situation . . . My income helps us economically.

Another, case was Beatrice, a 24-year-old unmarried homemaker who learned to enjoy housework (her experience in applying for jobs was discussed in Chapter 4 and her non-monetary contribution in her household was discussed in Chapter 5). 'I am the manager in this house,' Beatrice laughingly answered when asked what her work was. She claimed that she was a homemaker by fate and not by choice. I am a Bachelor of Science in Education graduate but I've been unlucky with my job search,' she told me. She admitted that she had learned to love keeping house for her family. She felt satisfied keeping the house in order, preparing meals and keeping the rest of the family members on their toes to maintain the order she established in the household.

Flora was a 40 year old homemaker and mother of five children with ages ranging from 11 to 21 years old. Even before they married, Flora's husband made it clear that he wanted to get married so that somebody would take care of him and he wanted a wife who would stay at home and take care of him and their children. She narrated her work schedule and how she perceived her work:

> I start my day early to prepare breakfast for my husband and children. After they have left for work and school, I wash the dishes, clean the kitchen and the whole house. When the whole house is cleaned, I wash the dirty clothes. As soon as the dirty clothes are washed and hung out, I start to prepare the lunch. After our lunch, one of my sons will wash the dishes but I still supervise cleaning the kitchen. After everything has been cleaned, I watch the television then take a nap. I usually cannot finish a TV program because I go to sleep. At 3:00 pm every Tuesday, Friday and Sunday I join a group to pray the rosary. At about 5:30 pm I start to prepare our dinner. . . Housekeeping is not an easy job but I do enjoy doing it. I think that this is my role as a wife and mother. . . I have to see to it that they are taken care of . . .

Indeed, I found that there were so many facets of housework. The views expressed by the old woman and the man bystander when the boy fell in the canal echo the views of Mauswagon and the wider society that a woman's role is to take care of the home and the children. Even if a woman works, she is still expected to take care of her husband and children. Even among unmarried women, one of the gauges for the right time to marry is when a woman is capable of taking care of her would-be husband and children as manifested in her performance of housework. Some women enjoyed performing housework and obtained satisfaction in doing so. Some also like Beatrice, learned to love performing housework since they could not obtain an outside job.

The double burden: Balancing paid and unpaid work

For most married women, paid work does not fundamentally interrupt the core responsibilities of the traditional wife/mother role (Mortimer and London, 1984: 28). Women's primary responsibility in the household is not decreased when they take on paid employment (Eviota, 1986: 203). Both women who do and do not work outside the home maintain the major load of 'reproductive activities' and 'family status maintenance' (Wong, 1986: 222). As a result, working women are faced with a 'double day' (Safa, 1992: 77; Gannage, 1986: 76; Kahne, 1992: 282).

There is a general belief or expectation that, when women take on paid work, husbands in turn perform more housekeeping chores (Lorber, 1994: 190). However, many studies show that women's employment does not appear to alter the sex division of labour in the household (Glazer, 1984: 178). The time spent by men on housework does not change as wives join paid employment (Pleck, 1985; Harper and Richards, 1986; Baxter et al., 1989; Bittman, 1991). It appears that women's domestic work is less open to change even when women are employed (Ecevit, 1991: 77).

When women are engaged in paid employment in developing nations, their responsibility for home care and for family subsistence does not notably diminish (Kahne, 1992: 282). They do not give up the domestic role as they take up paid employment, but just add one more work role to the others they already hold. Thus, women are faced with the double burden of carrying on their backs both market and domestic work (Montiel and Hollnsteiner, 1976: 14; Rojas-Aleta et al., 1977: 39; Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984; Gannage, 1986; Thorbek, 1987: 71; Kahne, 1992; Weil, 1992:51). This is particularly onerous in developing countries due to the labour intensiveness of both reproductive activities and the productive activities that women have to perform outside the home (Weil, 1992: 51).

Although most women are confronted with the double burden as they join the paid work, they see some advantages in accepting the double day's overload (Rosen, 1987: 94). Paid work may make only a small difference in the domestic division of labour but it can make a significant difference to the balance of power within the home (Game and

Pringle, 1983: 120; Rosen, 1987: 94), 'given the connection between money and power' (Game and Pringle, 1983: 120).

The next section examines women's and men's housework participation in Mauswagon in terms of mean hours spent on different household activities and housework per week.

Women's and men's housework participation in Mauswagon

To analyse women's and men's participation in housework, I asked respondents whether they performed household chores. Those that did were asked to recall how much time they usually spent on each particular household activity and the frequency with which they performed the activity for the 12 household activities listed. The time spent on the various household activities is presented in terms of hours per week.

This study employed a one-week recall on the time spent on various household activities, instead of a 24-hour recall. The use of a one-week recall period is a limitation of this study, since women may not have recalled accurately the exact amount of time spent on each household activity. The answers given are thus only estimates of the actual time spent. Direct observation was not feasible, and I feared that if a 24-hour recall was employed, some household chores not frequently performed would not be captured.

Women and men differed in the amount of time spent and in the percentage who participated in a particular household activity, and in the overall percentage participation in housework performance. The time used by women and men on the 12 household activities listed and the percentage of each sex who participate in a particular activity and their overall participation in housework are presented in Table 7.1. Women spent an average of 20.7 hours per week, while men spent a little more than half of the time women spent on housework. The average number of hours spent per week by women on household activities was 45.9 per cent more than that of men (Table 7.1). The total mean number of hours spent on housework for both women and men reflected only those who participated in housework. All in all, 81 per cent of the men and 94 per cent of the women in the survey spent some time on housework.

Women spent more time on household activities than men, either singly for each particular activity or for housework as a whole. Women spent a greater amount of time in almost all of the household activities than men except for gathering/chopping firewood and gardening, where men spent more time than women, and in feeding chickens or hogs where the time spent was roughly equal (Table 7.1). Among the household chores listed, both men and women spent the highest average number of hours per week in cooking: 8.5 hours for women and 5.4 hours for men. Men spent 2.3 hours per week washing dishes, while women spent 2.8 hours. The findings contradict the notion that cooking or washing dishes is women's work and men are not involved with these activities.

The amount of time spent by Mauswagon men in cooking was greater than in two separate studies by Miralao (1980, 1984) in the Philippines. The first study was conducted in three areas representing different development stages in 1979 while the second study was a 3-Region survey undertaken in 1981. In these studies men spent from 2.8 to 4.6 hours per week in cooking.

The qualitative data revealed that women and men in Mauwagon attached different meanings to the 'cooking' task: men's time spent on cooking was spent differently than women's. The bulk of time men reported as 'cooking' was spent boiling and heating food that had been cooked by the wives before they went to work. Among women, these were not considered to be cooking or were thought too trivial to be mentioned.

The activity on which men spent most time was cooking (54 per cent), but women spent most time cleaning the house and yard (79 per cent). The tasks for which women's and men's participation were most different were ironing and washing clothes, cleaning the home/yard, and washing dishes. Generally, a higher percentage of women participated in each activity, the difference ranging from 30 to 53 per cent. Although women spent more time and more women were involved in shopping and child care, the differences between the sexes were smaller.

Table 7.1. Mean number of hours per week spent and per cent engaged in housework by type of activity and sex

household	women (n= 299)			men (n= 293)		
activity	hours/wk.	per cent	number	hours/wk.	per cent	number
cooking	8.4	71.0	(214)	5.4	54.0	(158)
washing clothes	5.8	71.0	(212)	4.2	31.0	(92)
cleaning house / yard	5.5	79.0	(235)	4.4	44.0	(128)
feeding chicken and hogs	4.2	5.0	(16)	4.2	16.0	(48)
gardening	3.1	3.0	(10)	4.3	3.0	(8)
fetching water	2.9	3.0	(9)	2.3	3.0	(9)
washing dishes	2.8	65.0	(194)	2.2	35.0	(103)
ironing clothes	1.9	64.0	(191)	1.2	11.0	(31)
shopping	1.8	56.0	(168)	1.4	46.0	(136)
child care	0.9	43.0	(130)	0.7	36.0	(105)
sewing / mending clothes	0.7	24.0	(72)	0.4	1.0	(3)
gathering /chopping firewood	0.5	0.3	(1)	2.3	8.0	(25)
total mean hrs/ week, number, & percent	20.7	94	281	11.2	81	237

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the number of men and women who were engaged in a particular household activity.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, menwomen.sys, menthhc.sps, allwomch.sps.

Men and women were classified by marital status in order to examine whether the pattern of time spent on housework was similar for never-married and ever-married men and women (Table 7.2). Never-married men spent the least mean number of hours per week on housework (9.1) followed by ever-married men (11.3). Ever-married women spent the highest mean number of hours per week (24.1) on housework followed by never-married women (17.2). Never-married men spent the lowest number of hours per week on almost all household activities except for cleaning house/yard. None of the never-married women or men spent time chopping and gathering firewood. Ever-married women spent more hours than never-married women on all household activities, except gardening and sewing/mending clothes. Ever-married women spent

more time on all household activities than never- or ever-married men (except for chopping/gathering firewood, where ever-married men spent more time than ever-married women). Married men spent more hours in all household activities than never-married men.

Table 7.2. Mean number of hours per week spent on housework and per cent engaged in housework by sex, marital status and type of activity

household activity	ever-married women (n= 149) hours/wk.	per cent	number	ever-married men (n= 249) hours/wk.	per cent	number
cooking	9.2	82.0	(122)	5.6	55.0	(137)
washing clothes	6.6	75.0	(112)	4.4	30.0	(74)
cleaning house / yard	5.6	77.0	(114)	4.3	42.0	(105)
feeding chickens and hogs	5.2	5.0	(8)	4.6	16.0	(41)
fetching water	3.1	4.0	(6)	2.6	3.0	(8)
washing dishes	2.9	66.0	(98)	2.3	34.0	(84)
ironing clothes	2.3	64.0	(96)	1.3	9.0	(23)
shopping	1.8	80.0	(120)	1.5	47.0	(117)
gardening	1.3	5.0	(5)	4.3	3.0	(8)
child care	1.0	68.0	(101)	0.7	40.0	(99)
sewing / mending clothes	0.6	36	(54)	0.4	1.0	(3)
gathering /chopping firewood	0.5	0.7	(1)	2.3	10.0	(25)
total	24.1	95	143	11.3	82.0	204

household activity	never-married women (n= 150) hours/wk.	per cent	number	never-married men (n= 44) hours/wk.	per cent	number
cooking	7.5	61.0	(92)	3.7	47.0	(21)
washing clothes	4.9	67.0	(100)	3.2	41.0	(18)
cleaning house / yard	5.4	81.0	(121)	4.8	52.0	(23)
feeding chickens and hogs	3.1	5.0	(8)	1.8	16.0	7)
fetching water	2.3	2.0	(3)	0.1	2.0	(1)
washing dishes	2.8	64.0	(96)	1.7	43.0	(19)
ironing clothes	1.4	63	(95)	0.7	18	(8)
shopping	1.7	32.0	(48)	1.1	43.0	(19)
gardening	4.9	5.0	(5)	0	0	0
child care	0.7	19.0	(29)	0.5	14	(6)
sewing / mending clothes	0.9	12.0	(18)	0	0	0
total	17.2	93	140	9.1	79	35

Notes: Figures in parentheses indicate the number of men and women who were engaged in a particular household activity.
The first panel is ranked by the importance of the activity for married women. The second panel uses the same ranking for comparability.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, menwomen.sys, mwchore.sps.

Ever-married women had: the highest participation in almost all household activities except chopping/gathering firewood and feeding chickens and hogs; the highest number of hours spent on housework per week; and the highest percentage (95 per cent) engaged in housework (Table 7.2). The main differences between never-married women and men and ever-married women and men overall appears to be due to childcare. Most women performed other tasks while taking care of a child or children and the other task seems to have been the one reported, resulting in under-enumeration of the time devoted to childcare. Hence the time spent on childcare was quite low even for married women.

Overall, never-married men had the lowest percentage of housework participation among the groups examined. Perhaps this was due to the fact that never-married men were not expected to shoulder housework responsibility in Mauswagon. Exceptions were few households where there were clear-cut assignments of housework among all members both women and men.

From early childhood, girls were trained to perform more housework than boys. Nora, a married factory worker and a mother of two boys and four girls with ages ranging from two to 12 years old related the help her daughters gave her in doing the housework. (The youngest of her four daughters lived with her married sister who was childless.)

> My three elder daughters aged 12, 11, and nine-and-a-half are a big help during weekends. During weekdays they are in school. . . Well, they do work after school but not as much as during weekends. My eldest daughter can cook rice and prepare a simple dish like fried rice or sauteed vegetables and meat while the remaining two help clean the house and take care of their two-year old youngest brother. . . My six-year old son is just hopeless when it comes to household chores. He cannot be depended upon to do household chores because he is a boy . . .

Nora's three daughters shared the burden of domestic responsibilities; her son did not and was more free to play and roam around the neighbourhood. Nora was quite strict that her daughters should do the housework first before they could go out and play with other children of their age in the neighbourhood. However, she did not expect her son to help with the housework. Nora accepted that boys could not be depended upon when it comes to housework. Her attitude gives us a glimpse of how mothers in Mauswagon brought up and socialised their children in relation to housework.

Women's housework participation was further analysed by household size and marital status (Tables 7.3 and 7.4). I had expected that the more members in a household the greater would be the time spent on housework. However, I did not take into consideration the help extended by the other members. Women living in households with seven or more members spent the least time on housework per week: 17.6 hours for never-married and 21.1 hours for ever-married women. A higher percentage of women from smaller than larger households participated in almost all household tasks, suggesting that in the larger households other members relieved the women of some of the burden of housework. Ever-married women from households with four to six members registered the highest mean number of hours spent on housework per week.

Table 7.3. Mean number of hours per week spent on housework for never-married women and percentage engaged in housework by type of activity and household size

activity	number of household members								
	1 to 3 (n=7)			4 to 6 (n=64)			7 & above (n=79)		
	hours/wk.	percentage	number	hours/wk.	percentage	number	hours/wk.	percentage	number
cooking	8.7	100	7	7.5	64	41	7.2	56	44
cleaning house / yard	4.6	100	7	5.8	73	47	5.3	86	67
washing clothes	3.7	86	6	4.9	56	36	5	74	58
washing dishes	2	86	6	3.6	63	40	2.3	64	50
ironing clothes	1.6	71	5	1.4	66	42	1.4	61	48
shopping	1.1	86	6	1.6	33	21	2	27	21
gardening	0	0	0	5.9	6	4	1	1	1
feeding chickens and hogs	0	0	0	4.4	6	4	1.9	5	4
fetching water	0	0	0	2.3	3.1	2	2.3	14	1
sewing / mending clothes	0	0	0	0.5	11	7	1.2	14	11
child care	0	0	0	0.8	16	10	0.6	24	29
total	20.3	100	7	17.5	94	60	16.8	92	73

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, menwomen1.sys, hhmw.sps.

Table 7.4. Mean number of hours per week spent for housework by ever-married women and percentage engaged in housework by type of activity and household size

	1 to 3 (n=23)			4 to 6 (n=73)			7 & above (n=54)		
activity	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**
cooking	8.5	83	19	9.9	84	62	8.4	76	41
cleaning house / yard	5.4	87	20	5.8	78	57	5.4	69	37
washing clothes	6	91	21	6.2	73	53	7.4	70	38
gardening	1.4	9	2	1.4	3	2	1.2	2	1
feeding chickens and hogs	7.5	22	5	1.5	4	3	0	0	0
washing dishes	2.6	83	19	2.7	68	49	3.2	56	30
fetching water	1.8	4	1	3.4	7	5	0	0	0
shopping	1.9	87	20	1.9	78	57	1.6	80	43
ironing clothes	0.8	61	14	3.3	73	53	1.2	54	29
sewing / mending clothes	0.5	35	8	0.6	44	32	0.5	26	14
child care	0.9	48	11	1	66	48	1	78	42
gathering /chopping firewood	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	2	1
total	23.9	100	23	26.2	93	68	21.1	94	51

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, menwomen1.sys, hhmw.sps.

Further analysis was carried out to examine whether income earners spent less time on housework. Both men and women were classified into wage-earners (Table 7.5) and those who did not earn an income (Table 7.6) by marital status. When women or men worked and earned an income, their participation in almost all household activities was lower that that of non-income-earners (Tables 7.5 and 7.6). Never-married women wage-earners spent an average of 9.9 hours while never-married women who did not earn an income spent an average of 30.4 hours per week on housework.

Market work reduced the number of hours spent by women on household activities but did not totally free them of housework. Ever-married wage-earning women spent an average of almost 17.3 hours per week on housework while their ever-married non-earning counterparts spent 36.3 hours. The time spent by wage-earners on housework was approximately one-third of that spent by non-earners spent on housework (Tables 7.5 and 7.6). Non-earning women spent a higher number of hours than wage-earning women on almost all household activities except gardening, ironing and sewing clothes. Table 7.6 indicates that, compared to wage-earning men, wage-earning women spent more time on almost all household activities except washing dishes and feeding chickens and hogs. My observation during field work suggests that, among wage-earning women, the time spent on gardening was probably used to tend orchids, while the time spent on chickens and hogs for wage-earning men was probably spent on feeding and tending fighting cocks. Both could thus be regarded as recreation rather than housework.

Wage earning also affected the participation of men in housework. Men income-earners spent less time on housework than their non-earning counterparts. Both non-earning women and men spent more time on housework than wage-earning women and men. However, never-married non-earning men spent more time on housework (16.1 hours) than never-married wage-earning women (7.3 hours) (Tables 7.5 and 7.6). Never-married wage-earning men had the lowest rate of participation in housework (78 per cent) (Table 7.5). All non-earning women were engaged in housework (Table 7.6). However, women, whether wage-earners or not, had a higher *rate* of participation in housework compared to men. Overall, non-earning women performed the highest mean number of hours of housework per week. Never-married men wage-earners spent the

least time on almost all of the household activities. They also had the lowest level of participation in housework.

Table 7.5. Wage-earners: mean number of hours per week spent on housework and per cent engaged in housework by sex, type of activity and marital status

	ever married					
	women (n=100)			men (n=194)		
activity	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**
cooking	6.7	74	74	4.9	56	110
washing clothes	4.6	69	69	3.4	27	54
cleaning house / yard	3.7	72	72	3.4	39	77
ironing clothes	2.9	64	64	1.3	9	17
washing dishes	2.2	58	58	2.2	33	66
shopping	1.9	73	73	1.5	48	95
feeding chickens and hogs	1.8	1	1	5.1	17	34
gardening	1.4	4	4	2.6	2	4
child care	0.9	61	61	0.6	40	79
sewing / mending clothes	0.7	26	26	0.1	1	2
gathering /chopping firewood	0.5	1	1	1.6	10	19
fetching water	0	0	0	2.8	3	7
total	17.3	93	93	9.7	84	163

	never married					
	women (n=100)			men (n=36)		
activity	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**
cooking	3.4	48	48	3.1	44	16
washing clothes	3.4	62	62	3.0	39	14
cleaning house / yard	3.7	77	76	3.1	44	16
ironing clothes	1.3	61	60	0.8	19	7
washing dishes	1.4	55	55	1.8	42	15
shopping	1.2	25	25	1.1	39	14
feeding chickens and hogs	1.4	3	3	2.0	17	6
gardening	6.1	4	4	0	0	0
child care	0.6	10	10	0.5	17	6
sewing / mending clothes	1.3	9	9	0	0	0
fetching water	1.2	1	1	0.1	3	1
total	9.9	90	90	7.3	78	28

Note: The first panel is ranked by the importance of the activity for married women. The second panel uses the same ranking for comparability.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, mwwage.sys, mwwagech3.sps.

Table 7.6. Non- income-earners: mean number of hours per week spent on housework and per cent engaged in housework by sex, type of activity and marital status

	ever married					
	women (n=50)			men (n=52)		
activity	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**
cooking	13.0	88	49	8.5	63	27
washing clothes	9.7	76	43	7.2	50	20
cleaning house / yard	8.8	90	43	6.8	88	28
feeding chickens and hogs	5.8	10	7	2.1	13	7
washing dishes	3.8	82	40	2.5	50	18
fetching water	3.1	4	6	1.2	0	1
shopping	1.7	46	48	1.7	63	22
gardening	1.2	2	1	6.0	0	4
child care	1.2	38	41	1.2	0	20
ironing clothes	1.1	70	32	1.4	13	6
sewing / mending clothes	0.5	18	28	1.0	0	1
gathering /chopping firewood	0.0	0	0	4.7	86	6
total	36.3	100	50	18.1	79	41

	never married					
	women (n=50)			men (n=8)		
activity	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**	**hours/wk.**	**percentage**	**number**
cooking	11.8	88	44	5.5	63	5
washing clothes	7.3	76	38	3.6	50	4
cleaning house / yard	8.4	90	45	8.6	88	7
feeding chickens and hogs	4.2	10	5	0.6	13	1
washing dishes	4.8	82	41	1.3	50	4
fetching water	2.9	4	2	0	0	0
shopping	2.2	46	23	0.9	63	5
child care	0.7	38	19	0	0	0
ironing clothes	1.5	70	35	0.1	13	1
gardening	1.5	2	1	0	0	0
sewing / mending clothes	0.5	18	9	0	0	0
total	30.4	100	50	16.1	87	7

Note: The first panel is ranked by the importance of the activity for married women. The second panel uses the same ranking for comparability.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, menwomhw.sys. mwhwch2.sps.

Women were classified into their work categories, namely, factory worker, non-factory worker, and homemaker and by marital status, as their time and housework participation were examined (Tables 7.7 and 7.8). Generally a higher percentage of homemakers participated in almost all household activities compared to the rest of the women (factory and non-factory workers) except for ironing, where their participation was equal to that of the factory workers. This was not surprising since homemakers did not attend to other work outside the home like the women who had also joined the paid workforce.

Never-married women working in the factory spent the lowest number of hours per week on housework (9.6 hours) while the ever-married homemakers spent the highest mean number of hours per week on housework (36.4 hours) (Table 7.7). It was also the never-married women working in the factory who had the lowest percentage participation in the various household tasks. Ever-married non-factory workers spent 17.9 hours per week on housework, an average of an hour and a half more than the time factory workers spent on housework per week (16.4 hours). Factory and non-factory workers spent a comparable time on the various household activities, except for gardening and ironing clothes, where ever-married non-factory workers spent more time than ever-married factory workers.

Ever-married factory workers registered the highest mean number of hours per week on shopping (2.2 hours), while non-factory workers registered the highest mean number of hours per week on sewing/mending clothes, ironing clothes, and gardening. An explanation for the greater time spent on shopping by factory workers is that QFI had its own cooperative store where factory workers usually bought their day-to-day needs either with cash or credit. They usually passed by the store after their shift before they headed for home.

Table 7.7. Women: mean number of hours/week spent on housework by type, activity, work category and marital status

activity	never-married								
	factory worker (n=50)			non-factory (n=49)			homemaker (n=50)		
	hours/week	percentage	number	hours/week	percentage	number	hours/wk.	percentage	number
cooking	3.4	46	23	3.5	51	25	11.8	88	44
cleaning house / yard	4.1	72	36	3.3	82	40	8.4	90	45
washing clothes	3.8	58	29	3.1	76	33	7.2	76	38
gardening	0	0	0	5.8	8	4	1.5	2	1
feeding chickens and hogs	0.1	2	1	2	4	2	4.2	10	5
washing dishes	1.2	50	25	1.6	61	30	4.8	82	41
fetching water	0	0	0	1.2	2	1	2.9	4	2
shopping	1.3	30	15	1	20	10	2.2	46	23
ironing clothes	1.4	64	32	1.3	57	28	1.5	70	35
sewing / mending clothes	0.9	8	4	1.7	10	5	0.5	18	9
child care	0.4	12	6	0.9	8	4	0.7	38	19
total	9.6	88	44	9.9	94	46	30.4	100	50

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, allwomch.sps.

Table 7.8. Women: mean number of hours/week spent on housework by type, activity, work category and marital status

activity	ever-married factory worker (n=49) hours/week	percentage	number	ever-married non-factory (n=50) hours/week	percentage	number	homemaker (n=50) hours/wk.	percentage	number
cooking	6.5	74	37	6.8	72	36	13.0	98	49
cleaning house / yard	3.6	78	39	3.8	64	32	8.8	86	43
washing clothes	5.4	62	31	4.0	76	38	9.7	86	43
gardening	2.3	2	1	1.1	6	3	1.2	2	1
feeding chickens and hogs	0	0	0	1.8	2	1	5.8	14	7
washing dishes	2.1	62	31	2.4	54	27	3.8	80	40
fetching water	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.1	12	6
shopping	2.2	72	36	1.6	72	36	1.7	96	48
ironing clothes	1.2	70	35	4.9	58	29	1.1	64	32
sewing / mending clothes	0.5	30	15	0.9	22	11	0.5	56	28
child care	0.7	74	37	1.0	46	23	1.2	82	41
gathering /chopping firewood	0	0	0	0.5	2	1	0	0	0
total mean hrs/ week, number, percent	16.4	96	47	17.9	92	46	36.3	100	50

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, allwomch.sps.

Factory work and the income it brought, in a way changed never-married women's gender roles. In the two cases that will be presented, both women were not expected to perform household tasks. Letty and Belen both never-married factory workers, spoke about their low housework participation in their respective homes. Letty was the breadwinner in the family. She was quoted earlier as saying that she took care of all the family needs. According to her:

> I am excepted from performing household chores. Household chores are performed by my younger brother and sister. My elder brother's live-in partner also helps with the household chores. I just go home and eat. At lunch time, the food is ready waiting for me when I go home for my lunch break. I only have an hour's break and I want to have time to relax before going back to tedious work at QFI. I have no time for household chores and I'm too tired to perform them even if I have the time. My younger sister washes my dirty clothes and I give her 200 pesos per month for her school allowance.

Letty's case illustrated the different domestic roles of single women in Mauswagon. Since Letty contributed almost all of her income for the household maintenance, her family did not expect her to perform household tasks. In fact other members performed the tasks for her. Her younger sister who was a student and was not earning an income did her laundry.

Belen earlier told me that she no longer lived with her family. She had established a new home with a woman friend. Belen narrated a brief history of her work experience and her housework performance:

> Right after my high school graduation in 1981 I was not able to find a job. I stayed at home and did the household chores. Since I was in elementary school I was the one assigned to wash and iron clothes for everyone at home, including my mother's clothes and uniform because she was still working at QFI then. Four years after my graduation, I ran away, went to Manila and worked there for two years as a housemaid in different households and later got a job as a cook in a canteen. I came home and with the help of a backer I landed a job as factory worker at QFI . . . I no longer live with my parents. . .I rent my own place with Cita. I have a niece who cooks, cleans the house and sometimes washes and irons my clothes. I still wash and iron my clothes during weekends but if I'm too tired to do those chores I ask my niece to do the tasks for me. I give my niece 100 pesos every month but I take care of her food.

According to Belen, 'nothing compares to being your own person.' It seemed that for almost all her life before working at QFI she was either under her parents', specifically her mother's control, or she was performing tasks for other people. Factory work and the income she earned brought changes in her life. One of those changes, according to

Belen, was that she need no longer do the household tasks which she had learned to abhor while she worked as a housemaid in Manila. She could now ask other people to do them for her and pay them instead.

As mentioned earlier, women and men attached different meanings to particular household tasks. Thus, there seemed to be under-reporting of the time women spent on certain household tasks and some over-reporting among men. On one hand, women found it difficult to isolate the tasks they performed simultaneously to reflect the exact time they spent on household activities, especially childcare. On the other hand, men were quite anxious to appear to perform household tasks. Perhaps, as the researcher, I was also a factor in the way they answered these questions since I had shown some interest in the topic. During the whole year that I spent in Mauswagon, although I saw a few men doing housework, I noticed that it was usually the women who did the housework within the home. I observed some men chopping firewood and doing house repairs outside the house. These were tasks that were readily observable from outside. However, it was inside that most of the work that demanded more. I did see some older men (those who had retired from work and grandfathers) doing some household tasks such as sweeping the yard, cooking, and taking care of children.

I also saw husbands carrying babies in their arms or playing with toddlers. However, if the babies started to cry, the husbands usually called their wives or, if they were not available, any female household member to pacify the crying infant. It was also common for the men to take babies or toddlers for a walk, but again they returned home very quickly if the babies were in need of a change of diaper or underwear.

Women often carried out several tasks at the same time, especially combining child care with other chores. Some women were cooking while they carried a baby, others washed clothes while watching the baby in a cot. The reported time spent on child care in almost all categories of the time allocation data was small compared to other activities, even among married women. This was a surprise, considering that 67 per cent (101 out 150) of the married women had children under six years of age. The time spent on some household tasks was not captured accurately. Although the small amount of time particularly for child care. The small amount of time spent by married women on child care could also be attributed to the help extended by other household members in caring for the child(ren).

Table 7.9. Married women with children less than seven years of age: persons helping care for the child (ren) by work category

person who helps take care	work categories of married women: factory worker (n=39)	non-factory worker (n=25)	homemaker (n=36)	total (n=100)
husband	28	28	44	34
hired help	26	20	17	21
other household member	46	52	39	45
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, allmar.sps.

Forty-four per cent of married houseworkers, compared with 28 per cent of both married factory and non-factory workers, received help from their husbands in taking care of their children who were less than seven years old. Married factory workers and non-factory workers also received help from other household members. More than a quarter (26 per cent) of married factory workers obtained assistance from hired help.

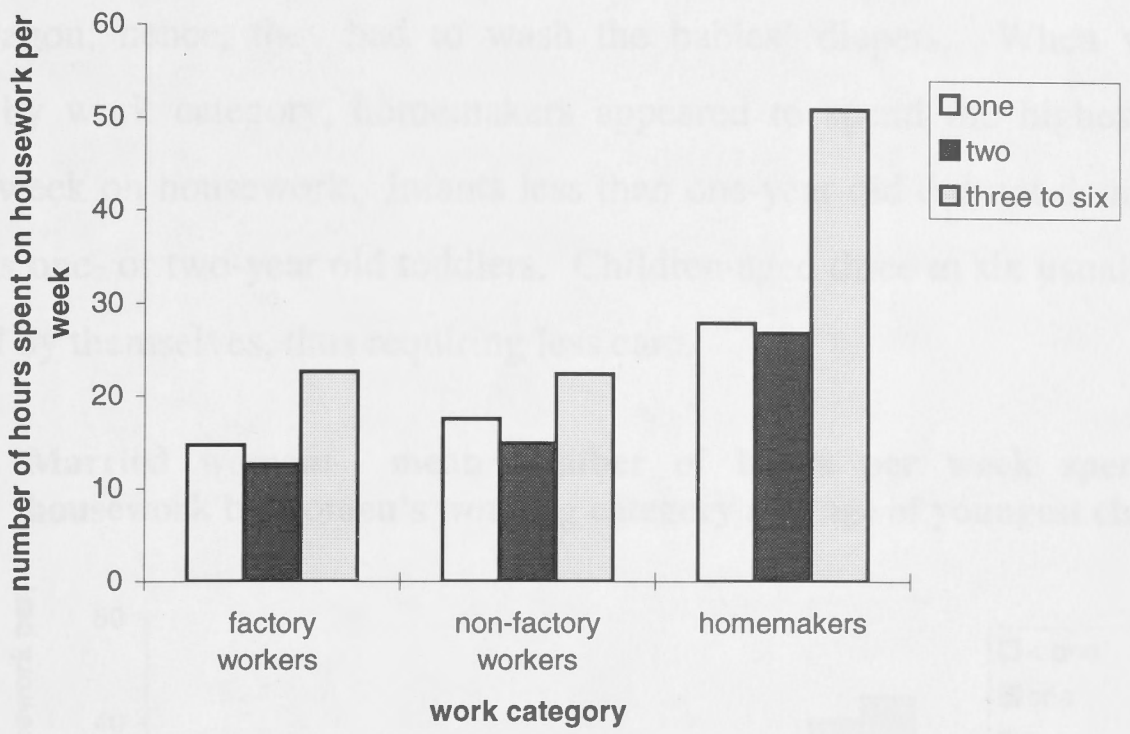
Table 7.9 replicates Miralao's (1980: 16) findings that other household members in extended households and domestic help absorb and relieve women in the Philippines of household demands, in this case, specifically child care. The other household members in Mauswagon who assisted married women with childcare included daughters as young as eight or nine years old who helped take care of a younger brother or sister.

The time spent by married women on housework as well as their participation in household tasks varied depending on the number of children aged less than seven years (Table 7.10). The greater the number of children aged less than seven years, the greater the time women spent on all household tasks (except shopping). Women with three to six children under seven years of age registered the highest mean number of hours spent on housework per week. They also had the highest percentage participation in almost all tasks. The time spent on cooking, cleaning house and washing clothes increased markedly when there were three to six children in the household who were under seven years of age.

Women with children under seven years were further classified by work category (Figure 7.1). All women spent more time on housework if they had one child aged less than seven than if they had two, but all women spent more time in housework per week if they had three to six children under seven years old. Homemakers with three to six children aged under six spent the highest mean number of hours per week (51 hours) on housework. The total mean number of hours they spent on housework per week was

more than double the time spent by working women in the factory (22.6 hours) or outside the factory (22.4 hours).

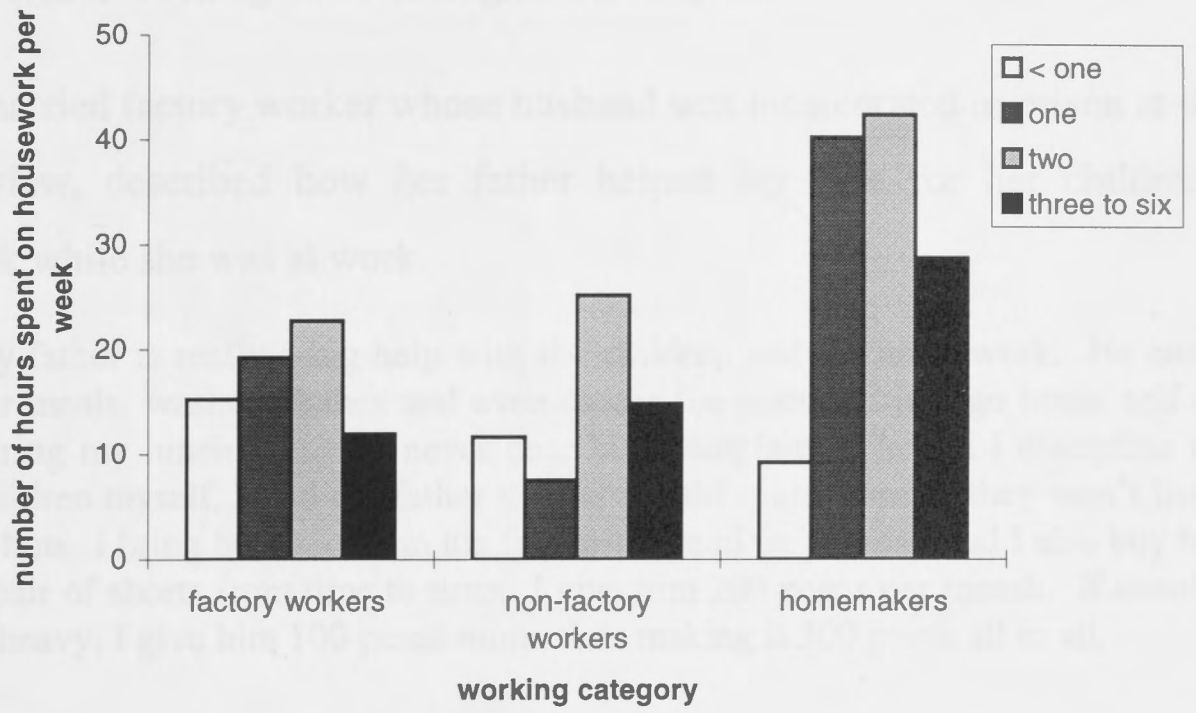
Figure 7.1. Married women: mean number of hours per week spent on housework by women's work category and number of children less than seven years of age



Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, Appendix Table 7.1 allwom.sys, 5child.sps, hmchild.xls

When the age of youngest child was taken into consideration (Figure 7.2), women with a youngest child who was less than a year old spent the least number of hours per week on housework, followed by those with a youngest child aged three to six. Those whose youngest child was aged one to two years spent more hours on housework. In particular, more time was spent washing clothes. Women did not use disposable diapers in Mauswagon; hence, they had to wash the babies' diapers. When women were classified by work category, homemakers appeared to spend the highest number of hours per week on housework. Infants less than one-year old did not demand as much attention as one- or two-year old toddlers. Children aged three to six usually fended for and played by themselves, thus requiring less care.

Figure 7.2. Married women: mean number of hours per week spent on housework by women's working category and age of youngest child



Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, Appendix Table 7.2 allwom.sys, 5child.sps, hmchild.xls

The housework participation of the men varied by the work category of the women to whose household the men belonged (Figure 7.3). Men in the households of ever-married working women spent more time on housework per week than men from ever-married non-earning households. While women homemakers spent the highest mean number of hours per week on housework, the men in their households spent the least mean number of hours per week on housework.

The relationship between the men and women also affected the time spent and level of participation in housework. (Figure 7.3). Men were classified as husband, father,

brother or other to the women interviewed in the survey. Fathers registered the highest mean number of hours spent for housework among the men but the percentage of them who participated in the various household tasks was quite low. Fathers who did perform housework often spent a considerable amount of time on it. These men were mostly retired.

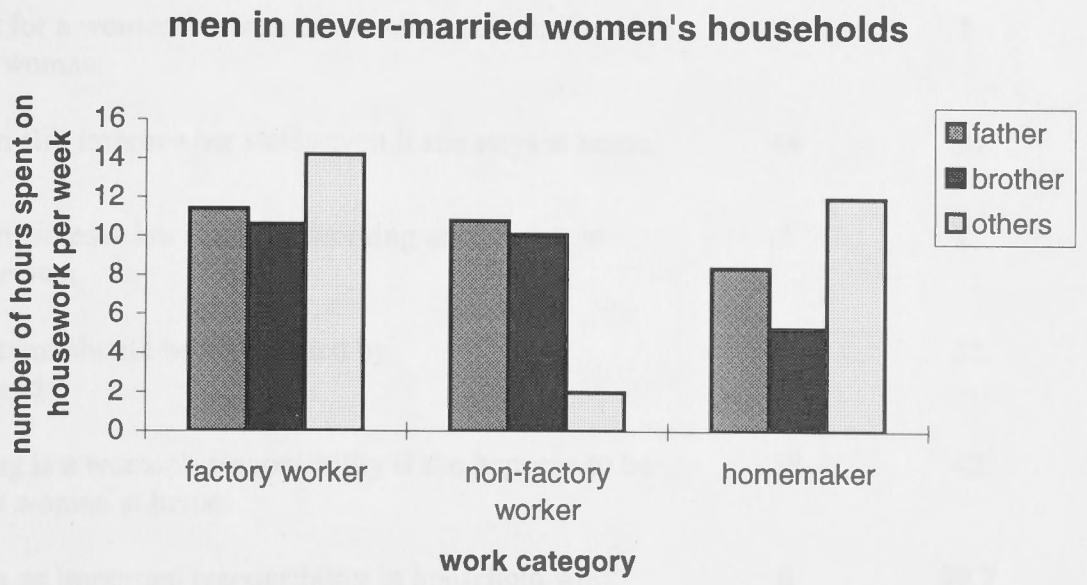
Husbands of factory workers spent the most time on housework of the husbands studied. They had to do some of the housework while their wives were at work in the factory. Factory workers had to adhere to company discipline and a regular schedule that did not give them the flexibility to attend to domestic tasks. The husbands of homemakers spent the least mean number of hours per week on housework. In all work categories, fathers spent the highest mean number of hours per week on housework but their participation rates in household tasks were quite low. Brothers of factory workers mainly helped in cooking and cleaning the house/yard.

Ayen, a married factory worker whose husband was incarcerated in prison at the time of the interview, described how her father helped her care for her children and the housework while she was at work:

> My father is really a big help with the children and the housework. He cooks our meals, washes clothes and even cleans the house. I just go home and eat during my lunch break. I never hear him complain. Though I discipline my children myself, I told my father that he should spank them if they won't listen to him. I bring home for him his favourite bread on pay-day and I also buy him a pair of shorts from time to time. I give him 200 pesos per month. If canning is heavy, I give him 100 pesos more, thus making it 300 pesos all in all.

Men who were members of the households of houseworkers spent the least time on shopping, cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes, and gardening compared to the male adult members in the households of factory workers and those working but not in the factory. The findings of Table 17 echo those of Rosen (1987: 106) that husbands vary their participation in housework in response to their wives' employment status.

Figure 7.3. Mean number of hours per hours per week spent by men in women's households by women's work category and marital status



Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, Appendix Table 7.3 allwom.sys, menper.sps, hmchild.xls

Perceptions of the role of women

Attitudinal data on the men and women's perceptions on the role of women were gathered to supplement the time-allocation data. Men and women's attitudes towards women's roles at home and outside the home are shown in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10. Attitude of men and women towards women's roles

attitudes	women (n=300)		men (n=293)	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
A woman's place is in the home	81	18	73	27
It is not right for a woman to insist on her ideas at home because she is only a woman	93	7	91	9
A woman can still improve her status even if she stays at home	44	56	30	70
A woman can increase her status by working and having an income of her own	3	97	3	97
A woman's status should be determined by parents/husband	68	32	59	41
Housecleaning is a woman's responsibility if she happens to be the only girl / woman at home	58	42	58	42
A woman has an important responsibility in household work	0	99.7	0.6	99.4
A woman's housework is just as important as the work of men and women outside the home	42	58	43	57
A woman should have a voice in decision-making if she earns an income	19	81	24	76
A woman should go out with companions acceptable to husbands /parents	11	89	13	87
A woman can leave the house anytime she wants without having to ask anyone's permission	91	8	95	5
A woman should get advice from parents / husband rather than deciding by herself	10	90	9	91
A woman should quit her job if a family member does not want her to work	82	18	71	28
A woman should consult parents/husband about what to do with leisure time	22	78	13	87
A married woman should decide how she spends her earnings	75	25	83	17
A single woman should decide how she spends her earnings	36	64	37	63
A man should earn higher pay than a woman since man acts as household head	67	33	58	42
A woman should work and earn income	5	95	9	91
A woman's income contributes to the family budget	1	98	0.7	99.3

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993.

Both men (73 per cent) and women (81 per cent) disagreed that a woman's place was in the home. However, more men than women agreed with this statement. During the interview, it became apparent that most of those men who agreed had wives who stayed at home. More often than not, it was the husband's decision that prevailed and was the reason that they stayed at home to take care of the husband, children and house.

Although the majority of both men and women (58 per cent for both) disagreed with the view that it is a woman's responsibility to clean the house, 42 per cent of both men and women agreed. Men reported that they spent an average of 4.4 hours per week cleaning the home and yard (Table 7.1). However, of the 293 men included in the survey, only 44 per cent engaged in this task (Table 7.2). Both men and women were in total agreement, almost 100 per cent for both, that a woman has an important responsibility in household work. This suggests strong support for the traditional sexual division of labour of men and women and the roles they are expected to play: women as wives and mothers; men as breadwinners. As a result, even if men did help with some work at home, it was still assumed by both men and women that women were responsible for housework. At the same, time both men and women were in agreement (91 per cent and 95 per cent respectively) that a woman should work and earn an income. In Mauswagon, as elsewhere, as a woman joined the labour force or worked outside the home, she did not relinquish her responsibility for household work. She just added one more work role to the others she already had.

Both men and women were also in agreement that a woman cannot just leave the house without asking permission. Although the men interviewed still insisted that women should ask permission, some of the women interviewed, modified their answers. They explained that it was more a matter of giving information to other household members about where they were going so that their absence would not cause unnecessary worry. In some instances, however, married women, went out without their husbands' permission. They just saw to it that they knew when their husbands would be home, and made sure that they would also be home by that time.

As to going out with companions acceptable to their husband and parents, the majority of both men and women agreed that this should be the case. The women explained that was better to have companions acceptable to parents and husbands in order to avoid trouble or quarrels.

For both men and women it was more acceptable for single women to decide how to spend their earnings than for married women. According to the women themselves, married women were not free to decide on their own what to do with their earnings because they had families to consider. Women's earnings did not always give them control over expenditure since household needs prevailed. However, both were also in agreement that a woman needed to work and earn an income.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined men and women's participation in housework in a village in Cagayan de Oro City. It has identified the household tasks that men and women were engaged in and explored the degree to which men and women shared in housework. It has made use of time-allocation data gathered from a survey and information obtained from in-depth interviews.

The findings show that women spent more time on household activities than men. Gathering and chopping firewood, as well as gardening, were the only household activities on which men spent more time than women. However, these same activities were the household tasks where the men had the lowest participation rate. As a result of the encroachment of modern technology, more households had gas burners for cooking. Hence, there was less demand for chopping and gathering firewood. The same was true with fetching water, since households had a piped water system. In Mauswagon, technology had freed men from the tasks they had traditionally done at home.

Among the 12 household activities listed in the study, men devoted the highest number of hours to cooking. This finding contradicts the notion that cooking is a woman's work. However, the number of hours women devoted to cooking as well the percentage of women who participated was higher compared to men. Upon closer investigation during the in-depth interviews, wives working in the factory admitted that cooking for men might only mean heating the food cooked by the women before they went to work or boiling water for their morning coffee when women were still at work. Unfortuantely, I did not interview the men to confirm this.

Married men and women spent more time on housework than their unmarried counterparts. Housework participation rates were highest among ever-married women followed by never-married women, and lowest among never-married men.

Entrance to the labour force did not guarantee freedom from housework for either men or women. However, a decrease in time spent on housework occurred among wage-earners compared to non-income-earners of both sexes. The amount of time spent on housework by male and female wage-earners was almost comparable (with women wage-earners spending more time than men wage-earners); however, the level of participation of male wage-earners was lower than that of female wage-earners.

Employment of women, either in the factory or outside the factory, reduced the amount of time they spent on housework and increased the share contributed by male adult members in the women's household. Women working in the factory spent the least mean number of hours per week on housework among the women studied. Adult male members in the households of houseworkers spent the least number of hours on housework. Homemakers spent the highest number of hours on housework and participated the most in housework.

Male adult members, mostly husbands, modified their participation in housework in response to their wives' employment status; when formerly working women became unemployed, they regained the household responsibilities.

Women themselves differed in their housework participation according to their relationship to the head of household, whether as heads of households themselves, spouses, daughters or 'other'. Women who were heads of households spent the least mean number of hours per week on housework but had a high level of participation in the various household tasks. Spouses spent the highest mean number of hours per week on housework. Women again differed in the time they spent on housework and in their percentage participation by work category. Overall, factory workers spent the least mean number of hours on housework. Daughters who worked in factories spent the least mean number of hours on housework compared to daughters who were working outside the factory and those who were homemakers.

The help given by other members of the household and hired help in taking care of infants and children reduced the time women spent on child care. However, in the case of working women, the responsibility for making arrangements for child care continued to fall on their shoulders. Most women relied on other women to help them with the childcare.

Both women and men disagreed with the statement that a woman's place is in the home. However, more than a quarter of men and almost a fifth of the women still thought that a woman's place was in the home.

Both men and women agreed that a woman has an important responsibility for household work. They were also in agreement that a woman needed to work and earn an income. However, women did not relinquish their household work as they joined the labour force. The number of hours may have been reduced but they still they faced the double burden of housework and market work.

8 Conclusion

...Reality and personality are constructions of a subjective process, taking place on several levels, within a certain context, in a certain language. We are often insecure in our conclusions. ...

Yet, within this struggle and relativity was usually a core of consensus, of a number of facts, traits or processes about which different subjective accounts seemed to agree. The world, therefore, is not entirely chaotic: We can make some sense of it. (Lieblich and Josselson, 1994: ix-x).

This study examined factory work and women's gender roles at work and in the home in a village in Cagayan de Oro City, Philippines. It has adopted a comparative approach. Portraits of three composite cases of women of different marital status representing the three occupational categories, factory worker, non-factory worker, and homemaker, were presented in Chapter 1. They served to introduce the basic issues of women's gender roles at work and in the home that were examined in the thesis.

Although in no sense did these portraits present the 'whole story' of women's domestic and work gender roles, they do provide a generalised account of women's unpaid domestic and paid work roles. They also serve to emphasise the central concern of this thesis with the ways in which these rather abstract concepts were experienced by the women and affected their daily lives. Since this is not always the main focus of a demographic thesis, I chose to highlight it by beginning the study with the portraits.

Factory employment at QFI had contradictory effects on women. The income they earned in the factory brought them personal and economic gains; although these were less than for men because women were regarded as 'secondary workers' and, because the women although hired for their specific skills, were formally classified as unskilled.

Women were also confronted with the double burden of domestic work at home and paid work outside the home. This was especially true for married women. Some single women working in the factory benefited from their incomes through a greater say in decision-making at home and changes in the division of labour at home where they were expected to do less domestic work. This was especially true if the single factory worker contributed a large proportion of the family income. Expectations about the primacy of women's role and place at home were also stronger for married women than for unmarried women.

In the early 1960s,

> The married woman who leaves her home each day and goes off to work has became a familiar, if controversial, figure in western society. Some see her as a symbol of freedom, but to others she is the epitome of irresponsibility and neglect. (Jephcott et al., 1962: 19)

In 1993 in Mauswagon, married working women were still perceived with ambivalence, although their status was no longer controversial. Many women had joined the paid workforce, but the traditional roles of women as wives and mothers had not changed significantly. Paid work was merely an addition to women's pre-existing roles.

Domestic labour was seen by Mauswagon men as women's main responsibility, although women's paid employment was also recognised as a necessity. When women stepped outside their traditional gender roles at home to join the paid workforce, they were not therefore praised or rewarded by men, other women or society as a whole. However, if men stepped outside their gender role as breadwinners to perform household tasks or other work that was perceived as women's work, society often praised them for doing a favour to those held to be responsible for domestic tasks, women.

The portraits showed that as women in Mauswagon joined the paid workforce they themselves still retained the traditional ideology that 'their place' was in the home. They still considered domestic work, nurturing and caring for their children and husbands to be their primary responsibility. Whether women worked and earned an income or stayed at home and took care of the house, husband and children, they all shared the same concern for the family. Although they had personal aspirations, their dreams for their families came first in their list of priorities. The demarcation line between their

own needs and that of their families was blurred, so that the needs of the family tended to become their own personal needs. The working women portrayed in Chapter 1 gained satisfaction from their paid work, from the camaraderie of workmates, the income earned, and their accomplishments at work. However, they also shared the satisfaction of homemakers that their homes and families were well cared for, and it was this that was the driving force in their lives.

In this chapter, I present the approach employed in this study, summarise the main findings and discuss their implications, and identify some of the theoretical and empirical challenges that await the work of other researchers in this important but complex area.

Approach

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used in this study. Analysis of the quantitative data alone could not adequately explain the complexity and multi-faceted nature of women's and men's work and roles. The quantitative data described the situation but could not show what it meant to the actors involved, or how it came about. Therefore much of the in-depth exploration of women's work and roles, in comparison to men's work and roles, was drawn from the qualitative data.

A woman-centred focus was adopted, although, the gender approach ensured that the men were not left out. A narrative style was used to present the portraits and the cases illustrated within the chapters; this allowed the women in the study to, in some sense, speak for themselves. Although I as the researcher collected and selected the particular extracts, the reader is able to gain a 'flavour' of what the women and men studied thought and said. The lives of factory women in Mauswagon and their non-factory counterparts were revealed as the study examined who they were, their socio-demographic characteristics, for the working women their motives for working, and for the homemakers their reasons for not joining the paid workforce. The differences that incomes brought about in the lives of working women were also revealed.

Main findings

The factory women compared with their working and non-working sisters

In contrast to the stereotype of young and single women workers in export-processing plants in developing countries presented in much of the literature, never-married factory workers tended to be older than the never-married women in the other occupational categories studied. The preference of employers for young and single women is usually due to the potential costs of maternity leave and fear of high absenteeism among young mothers. However, marital status and age were not important factors in the recruitment of workers at QFI. A mixture of single and married women from their 20s to the late 40s worked in the factory. Older women had worked at QFI for a longer time than younger women, reflecting the fact that they had initially been recuited when they were young. This suggests that the difference at QFI was not that they hired older women but rather that they tended to retain their workforce.

Married factory workers had an average of 2.9 children compared with 2.3 for non-factory workers and 3.4 for homemakers. Thus, homemakers did have more children on average than working women. Since the factory workers were actually older, this suggests real differences in completed fertility rather than just the effect of the age distribution. Eighty per cent of factory workers had children under seven years.

Marriage and children did not prevent women from joining the factory workforce. A number of factors might explain this. First, the nearness of the factory to the women's homes and the availability of immediate or extended family members or hired helpers to take care of children, especially those under seven years of age, enabled the women to leave home and undertake factory work. Second, although it was generally expected in Mauswagon that husbands should be breadwinners and wives should be homemakers, there were a few cases of role reversal. Twelve per cent of the husbands of factory workers were househusbands who did not have paid work. Four of the six women who were main breadwinners also identified themselves as household heads. Most husbands of factory workers in the paid workforce accepted the economic necessity for women to work. Third, jobs were scarce in Mauswagon and both married and unmarried women

had to accept their current jobs or face the possibility of losing their sources of income. Married women were under pressure to keep their jobs to help support their families

Although factory work did not require a high level of education, the minimum educational requirement for new workers had increased because of job scarcity and the large number of job applicants. Factory workers claimed that their training in school was not being applied in their work. Speed, visual acuity, and patience were the skills most needed. The higher education did not seem to contribute to improved productivity but rather merely helped determined access to factory jobs.

In 1993 all factory workers under 29 years were at least high school graduates. Those who exceeded the minimum requirements had better chances of being hired than those who just met the minimum requirements. However, in addition to meeting the minimum educational requirement, having somebody from the higher echelons of QFI management to 'back-up' an application was the strongest factor in assisting an applicant to gain entry into the factory workforce. Most factory workers obtained their jobs in the factory through a backer. Applicants who had either a mother or father, or both working in the factory had the highest chances of being hired at QFI. QFI management gave priority to the hiring of dependents of QFI workers, especially if those workers were near retirement age.

Although women in Mauswagon usually reported that they were either spouse or daughter of the household head, never-married factory workers were more likely to report as household head than never-married non-factory or homemakers. This was usually because of the higher incomes they brought home. It was especially likely if they were the sole income earners in their households or there was no man in the household.

Factory women worked primarily to earn money to support their families. Very few factory workers gave 'self-fulfilment' or 'application of formal training from school' as reasons for working. Even though factory work was hard work, the turnover of QFI workers was low because QFI offered higher pay than other employers. The pay for factory workers was high compared to the pay for white collar jobs and even for teachers in public and private schools. Although factory work was hard work and exhausting, the women chose to remain in their jobs.

Non-availability of jobs was the main reason why never-married women homemakers stayed at home, while ever-married women stayed at home to take care of their families. Some ever-married women whose children were old enough to fend for themselves wanted to work, but no jobs were available. A few women were prohibited by their husbands from working outside the home.

Never-married women in Mauswagon aspired to marry at a later age than the average for the Philippines. This was more evident among factory workers and non-factory workers. Slightly less than a fifth of women in both work categories planned to marry in their 30s, but none of the homemakers planned to marry at such a late age. Although mental and emotional stability was the most common answer given for delaying marriage, concern for their natal family which still needed their financial contribution was a factor that discouraged many women from marrying and establishing families of their own.

The in-depth interviews showed that all never-married women in the three work categories still viewed the paid work role as secondary to the primary role of taking care of their future husbands and children. They also acknowledged that it would probably be necessary for them to continue working to support their future families and enjoy the benefits of a dual-income household. However, they indicated that if their husbands' could afford to support the family and live in a style that was not a 'hand to mouth' existence they would give up their paid work. Never-married women seemed ambivalent about work after marriage. They wanted to enjoy the economic autonomy that their earnings brought, especially being independent of others in providing for their personal needs, but they also held traditional ideas that the 'proper place' of a married woman was at home caring for her family. They also considered the possibility of continuing financial assistance to their families of origin and thought that giving money from their own earnings would be less likely to trigger marital conflict than giving money from their husbands' earnings.

The main findings of the next section address the questions: What did women and men do and how was work divided between women and men in QFI?

Women and factory work

According to McClung Lee (1970: 7):

> Participant observation is only a gate to the intricacies of more adequate social knowledge. What happens when one enters that gate depends upon his [sic] abilities and interrelationships as an observer. He [sic]must be able to see, to listen, and to feel sensitively the social interactions of which he [sic] becomes a part.

As I saw, listened, and felt the social interactions during my participation as day and night shift worker at QFI, I gained many insights into the intricacies of women's lives and work at QFI. By going deeper into the inner dynamics of factory work and women, a broader perspective was gained. For instance, I could see beyond simple knowledge of the relatively high income that the women factory workers earned to the drudgery and physical toil that they had to endure.

When QFI was established in the Philippines in the late 1920s the 'physical' and 'psychological' stereotypes described by Chant and McIlawaine's, (1995: 166) were already operating in its recruitment of workers. Women were recruited for jobs at the preparation tables because they were perceived to possess the appropriate physical characteristics. These included small hands and a delicate touch that would not crush the pineapples, good eyesight to detect discolouration, defects, blemishes and foreign materials on the pineapples. They were also perceived to be physically built to endure long hours of repetitive work and were good at 'fiddly' tasks. The 'psychological stereotypes' attributed to women factory workers were patience and a high level of concentration in performing repetitive tasks.

While this preference for women in factory work created job opportunities and access to relatively high incomes compared to jobs with similar tasks and requiring similar qualifications outside QFI, the female workforce as a whole was disadvantaged *vis a vis* the male labour force. Jobs were labelled as 'women's' and 'men's' work in QFI. The preparation table was identified as a 'women's world' while central maintenance and mechanised areas were identified as 'men's worlds'. Work at the preparation table was also identified as 'light' while the jobs men performed were considered as 'heavy'. Management felt that they were protecting women by giving them 'light' jobs. However, having worked at the preparation table myself, I would not classify the tasks

performed as 'light'. They were equally if not more arduous than the tasks men performed. The work situation of women and men in these 'worlds' also differed in other more subtle ways. Women were not as free as men to move around and chat and share jokes with co-workers. There was also more physical pressure for women in their work since they were always racing with time to catch up with pineapple processing production.

Management had placed women in a narrow range of specific jobs that they were considered to be 'good at' and which, in contrast, men were considered unsuited to. Women's vertical mobility was limited. They did not have access to more skilled jobs or the mechanised areas with higher pay which were monopolised by men. Unlike men, women were not given training because their skills were perceived to be inherent and 'natural'.

Women were exposed to a range of occupational health hazards by the 'light' work they performed. These included backache due to the repetitive tasks performed, headache and dizziness due to the noise and high speed of the work, and varicose veins due to the long hours spent standing.

The women recognised that factory work was hard work. Although some had not reflected on and seemed unaware of their disadvantaged situation, others realised that they were in 'dead-end' jobs. However, most rationalised that they would endure the hard work for the pay they would receive at the end of the fortnight. They also felt that factory work was honest work, and they enjoyed the household amenities they were able to purchase that were not affordable by workers with similar or higher qualifications who were working outside QFI. They even considered themselves 'fortunate' for having 'landed' a job at QFI.

In sum, women perceived manifold meanings in their factory work in QFI: arduous and difficult; boring and 'challenging' (in the sense that they could strive to meet production targets); a place to exercise rebellion (mashing pineapples to speed up the work) and suffer submission. Whatever meaning they attached to their work, it was clear that factory work provided sufficient economic and social compensation for them to stay on and report to work, despite their complaints, the following day.

Income earners and decision makers in women's households

Did women's incomes make a difference in their lives? In particular, did it affect their positions in the household and their roles in household decision-making?

The findings in this study show that factory workers contributed a significant amount to household income. This contrasts with Wolf's (1992) findings that 'factory daughters' in rural Java in the mid-1980s contributed little if anything to the family economy from their factory earnings. One basic difference between the factories studied by Wolf and QFI was that QFI paid its female workers an above subsistence-level wage while the Indonesian factories studied by Wolf did not. QFI also offered other fringe benefits to its workers. Almost three-quarters (72 per cent) of never-married factory workers ranked meeting the day-to-day needs of their family as the first priority in the allocation of their income. The mean gross income per month of never-married factory workers was higher than the average amount male residents in their households earned. Almost forty per cent of the male residents in their households were either retired workers or homemakers and were not earning an income. Never-married factory workers' households had the highest level of male residents who were non-income earners among those studied. Only slightly more than a fifth (22 per cent) of never-married factory workers ranked purchase of personal needs as first priority allocation of their incomes. These women were similar to Wolf's factory daughters in rural Java for whom purchase of luxury items and other supplemental (but not basic) needs were the main uses of income. In these households, the women were not the primary breadwinners.

Although ever-married factory workers were main contributors to the family income, due to deductions for repayments to the cooperative store at QFI and for other loans, their take-home pay was often quite low. Most of their earnings went into meeting daily needs and payments for household amenities purchased on credit. Ever-married non-factory workers acknowledged paying their share in meeting the day-to-day needs of the household, even although their contributions were usually not as large as those of their husbands. Although factory workers earned more, non-factory workers usually took home larger pay packets due to lower deductions for loans and payments for goods bought on credit. However, they also had outside obligations to meet, such as payments

for goods for the family's day-to-day needs bought on credit at *sari-sari* stores near their homes.

Never-married non-factory workers, despite the meagreness of their incomes, still allotted a portion for family upkeep. In some instances, the contribution was a 'token' that showed that, as a family member, the worker had a share in maintaining the household, no matter how minimal the amount.

The findings in this study contrasted with those of Kung (1983: 13) in a study of 'factory daughters' in Taiwan in the mid-1970s, where the control of earnings was in the hands of the family head. Never-married women in Mauswagon felt that they could choose whether or not to contribute to the family upkeep. However, family obligations were a high priority and most never-married women supported their families, except in isolated cases such as that of Belen (discussed in Chapter 5). (Even Belen still gave money to her parents or younger brothers when help was really needed.) The question of control needs to be considered in relation to the pressure to meet basic needs. In practice, most of the women had no choice about the allocation of their incomes because the basic needs of their household had to be met. For unmarried women, this was especially the case where their income was the main source of support for their households.

The amount contributed determined whether a woman had a 'say' in the household decision-making. Approximately 40 per cent of women in each work category reported egalitarian decision-making in their household with regard to the number of children the couple would have. Slightly more than half also reported egalitarian decision-making on whether their child(ren) attended school and which school.

The highest proportion of women deciding on the daily expenses in their households were factory workers, whether married or not. Although the majority of never-married women factory workers answered that others decided on the daily expenses in their households, more (33 per cent) decided themselves compared with never-married non-factory workers (24 per cent) and homemakers (4 per cent).

Where a never-married woman's income was depended upon for the subsistence of the family, she had considerable power in decision-making. Family members had to consult her before making any decision and would defer to her decision rather than those of

other family members, including the father if he had no steady income. However, some unmarried women who received incomes did not have a voice in the decision-making process at home. This was especially likely if their contributions to the household income were seen as 'tokens'. In such cases, parents could still dictate their lives. However, even these women felt that their incomes made a difference. They were not totally dependent on their families for their subsistence, and they could buy at least some of their personal needs from their income.

Factory workers' access to relatively higher incomes compared with their non-factory counterparts led to a consumption pattern not affordable by the other women. The household goods they bought were often sources of status for them and their families. However, the power they obtained from their income was undermined to some extent by the deductions from their pay for payments on loans incurred inside the factory, as well as for those incurred from the 5-6 Loan Scheme. Their power was also undermined by the extent to which their incomes enabled men to reduce their contributions to the household income. Women were usually expected to cover any deficit in household income, even if it meant going into debt. Factory work was a double-edged sword in relation to credit and access to loan schemes. Because the women were earning a regular income from the factory, they had good credit standing. Even for non-essential expenditures, they could easily find creditors to give them loans. By contrast, non-factory workers seemed more careful in incurring debts and buying goods because of the tightness of their budgets and their more restricted access to credit.

Full-time homemakers had less control over family decision-making and the disposition of family finances than did factory and non-factory workers. The lives of the married homemakers presented interesting contrasts. On one hand, they were proud of living up to the traditional role of personally taking care of their husbands and children. On the other hand, they had less economic autonomy and decision-making authority in the household. Working members in the households of homemakers, husbands of married homemakers, and parents or brothers or sisters of never-married homemakers, depended on their unpaid domestic work so that they could go out to work and earn incomes. Although the homemakers were usually aware of this in general terms, they were unable to utilise it as a basis for a greater role in household decision-making.

Facets of the reported egalitarian decision-making by wives and husbands in Mauswagon within their households were revealed in the in-depth interviews. Women adapted strategies in the play of power within the household, especially in cases where husbands earned more but contributed less as a proportion of their incomes. Married women sometimes employed strategies such as silence or out-talking their husband or crying in order to get a say in household affairs. Never-married women sometimes used withdrawal of their domestic services from the rest of household members. However, social expectations were so strong that, combined with the needs of the children, withdrawal of services was not a potential strategy for married women. One informant reported that she could easily 'walk-out' of her home and go somewhere else if only her husband were to be left behind, but she could not readily do so since she could not leave her small children.

In summary, the effects of women's entry into the paid workforce are multiple and subject to different interpretations. From the working women's perspective, having a job and earning an income, no matter how small, constituted one way in which they could emerge from the shadows of dominant others and reclaim the selves they had relinquished to the control of others.

The next section presents the main findings regarding the tasks and the workload women and men do at home.

Women and housework

The operations of gender stereotyping and expectations extended beyond the QFI factory gate and followed the women as they returned to their respective homes after a day or night of work. Even if women had joined the labour force and were earning incomes, the expectation that a 'woman's place is in the home' still operated in Mauswagon. Women were still expected to take responsibility for domestic tasks. Household tasks were similarly perceived to the tasks women performed in the factory, that is, as 'fiddly' and repetitive. Thus, they were considered women's work. Ever-married women spent a mean of 24.1 hours per week on housework while ever-married men spent only 11.3 hours, less than half the time women spent on housework. Never-married women spent a mean of 17.2 hours per week on housework while their male counterparts spent only 9.1 hours.

Women spent more time on almost all household tasks than men. Women spent a greater amount of time on shopping, cooking, washing dishes, cleaning the house and yard, washing clothes, sewing and mending clothes, and childcare. Men spent more time than women on gardening and gathering and cutting firewood. Men identified the household tasks on which women spent more time as 'women's tasks', while gathering and cutting firewood were considered to be 'men's tasks' since they were regarded as heavy. The advent of modern technology in the form of gas burners freed men much of the task of providing cooking fuel traditionally assigned to them, whereas women's household tasks had not been reduced markedly by technology.

Paid work did not free either women or men from housework, but had more or less shaken the traditional division of labour within the homes. Most men were involved in some of the domestic tasks traditionally defined as 'women's work'. However, paid work did not significantly change the responsibility for domestic work. Working women, especially married women, continued to be responsible for and bore the brunt of domestic chores. No major redefinition of work responsibility at home took place since men only 'helped' but did not take over responsibility. Men were also involved in only a limited range of tasks. Among the household activities listed by the survey, the men in the working women's household reported spending the highest number of hours on cooking. The men 'cooked' food for themselves and their children while their wives were at work. However, the qualitative data suggested that the bulk of this time was spent heating food that had been previously cooked by the wives before they reported to work. Men and women also had different ideas about what was regarded as 'cooking'. Boiling water for coffee was reported by some men as cooking. Men did cook food, but not on a regular basis like women. For example, they might volunteer to cook dinner on Sundays, after spending the whole afternoon at a cock fight, especially if they brought home the *bihag*[1] as part of their winnings.

Since working women could be at work during the day or at night if they were night shift workers, they delegated childcare to others. These were usually distant or close relatives, or older children, who at 10 or 12 could already take care of younger siblings. In some cases they used hired helpers. The number of children under seven years old and their ages affected the mean number of hours women spent on housework. The

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[1] *Bihag* means the dead fighting cock brought home by the owner of the winning fighting cock.

more children under seven years that the women had, the higher was the mean number of hours spent by their mothers on housework. This was not surprising, since more young children would mean more housework. Even where older children or hired help did the household chores, allocating tasks and making sure that they were completed were still seen as the women's responsibility.

Because of their absence from their homes due to their work, paid workers spent fewer hours on housework than homemakers. Factory workers spent the fewest mean hours per week on housework among the women studied: never-married factory workers spent the least time of all. As discussed in Chapter 5, unmarried factory workers contributed a large part of their earnings to the family upkeep.

It seemed that most men in ever-married women factory workers' households had no choice but to perform some of the household chores. The discipline and regularity of factory work gave the women less opportunity than many non-factory workers to adapt their working hours to the demands of their domestic role. However, the men were only 'helping' and thus were not actually performing the same tasks as or replacing the women in the domestic roles. Housework was still seen by men as women's primary responsibility.

A woman would probably not consider boiling water to be cooking. If she did, it would be too trivial to be mentioned, whereas a man saw boiling water as a positive thing. Men coming from the households of working women (factory or non-factory) were willing to admit, even proud and boastful that they performed housework. Men being willing to admit to doing women's work represents a major change in Filipino society. However the men in homemakers' households were forthright in their belief that women should attend to the household chores. They had the lowest level of housework participation and spent the least time doing household tasks.

When women stepped outside their traditional roles to do men's work such as earning the household income, they were just as likely to be criticised as praised. In contrast, once society gets over the idea that it is totally unsuitable, men are likely to be praised (including by women) for crossing into women's gender roles. Thus the meaning of crossing gender roles is quite different for women and men.

In sum, there was a slight re-allocation of domestic tasks at home due to women's participation in the paid workforce, particularly in factory work. Men had increased their participation in domestic work and the time they spent on tasks traditionally reserved for women. However, since women were still perceived by husbands as homemakers who, incidentally, were also workers, husbands, women themselves and society as a whole demanded that wives continue to fulfil their responsibility as carers of family members and put their homes in order.

Limitations of the study

The approach of this thesis differs from the standard methodology followed by most demographic studies. It has both weaknesses and strengths. By focusing on a particular case study and incorporating a methodology that supports in-depth investigations, the study emphasises 'depth' over 'breadth'. The women's stories document in considerable detail their activities and the problems encountered in the daily lives of factory workers, non-factory workers and homemakers. The women narrated their stories in the context of common issues involving their gender roles at work and in the home and the division of labour in their workplaces and homes. In contrast to the analysis of datasets from census or large sample surveys, I cannot generalise statistically about all women and their roles or about all women working in the factories on the basis of the findings presented here. However, by equally careful and systematic analysis of the qualitative data, I can generalise about the likely effects of factory work on the lives of other women in similar situations.

In writing this thesis, I have tried to respond to Wolf's (1992: 266) call to bring in the voice of the researcher. Thus, I have integrated within the text the personal difficulties I encountered during the course of the research and an explanation of my relationship with the subjects or informants. The main objective is to provide the reader with a better understanding of the research process and information on which to judge the objectivity and validity of its results.

Because of its focus on women, this study did not capture much depth on men's perspective. I had initially decided that the main focus of the research would be women, particularly the factory workers. However, as the writing took shape, I began to notice an imbalance in the perspective. My information on men was drawn mainly from the

quantitative data gathered from the Baseline Study and the Survey. Hence, the intricacies of how men perceived their gender roles at work and in the home were not adequately examined. Although I was able to classify men according to work categories, the classification did not work as well for men as for women because some men worked in different kinds of work from those to which I had restricted the sample of women. The men were selected according to their relationship to the women interviewed: as father, husband, brother, or other relative. As a result, the range of their age and educational qualifications, for example, was quite different from those of the corresponding women. This affected my comparative analysis. I had intended to compare women's and men's participation in housework for both married and unmarried women. However, comparisons between fathers and daughters was not useful because of the complications created by differences in age and education and because of the role of other women - usually the mother - in these households.

It proved difficult in practice to deal adequately with the role of women and men in childcare. Even for women, it was difficult to obtain reliable data, because most women performed other tasks simultaneously while taking care of a child or children. Thus, childcare was one of those household tasks that was very difficult to isolate. Measurement required round-the-clock observation rather than a one-week recall. The reported number of hours spent on childcare must be regarded as of dubious validity. The actual time spent on childcare reported by women was low. It seemed that the other tasks such as cooking or cleaning the house, performed while taking care of children, were reported and childcare was thus obscured. However, despite this, the chapter on housework provides an indication of time spent and level of participation on various household tasks by the women and the men in their households.

The limitations and findings of this study suggest directions for future research. Further research is needed to examine in greater depth men's perspective on their gender roles at work and in the home addressing the following questions: How do men perceive their work and the tasks allocated to them in the paid workforce, for example in a factory, and in the home? How do men perceive the tasks women perform at work and at home? What are men's fears and aspirations in relation to women's work? Why do some men prohibit women from working outside their homes?

Conclusion

Robinson (1988) in an article on the political economy and development of an Indonesian mining town asked, 'What kind of freedom is cutting your hair?' Wolf (1992: 256) quoted this question when reviewing the personal and economic gains of factory workers in rural Java under exploitative conditions. In a similar context but a different setting, I would also ask, 'What kind of status does buying Tupperware and other household amenities gain for women factory workers in Mauswagon?'

Factory workers were perceived as a 'privileged group' because of their access to relatively well-paid work in an environment where work was scarce. Women competed among themselves for jobs in the factory, relying on backers to endorse their applications. Some women factory workers also competed among themselves to see who had the best household amenities, although some of the goods were bought on credit or with money borrowed from the 5-6 Credit Loan Scheme. Thus, the women factory workers had consumer patterns that were considered 'better' or more desirable than those of similar workers outside the factory. Many of the women seemed to feel that this gave them added status in the community and among their peers.

However, despite factory workers' access to a relatively high income and 'status', they were controlled by the watchful eyes and strict supervision of male supervisors and forewomen. They were engaged in arduous work and were continually confronted by the pressures of production quotas. The skills they brought to their work were not recognised as 'skills' by management, they were classified as unskilled, and the positions they held were at the bottom of the QFI hierarchy.

Although changes and gender crossing in the activities of the household occurred, still the burden of domestic labour weighed heavily on women's shoulders. As I analysed the data on the household tasks women performed and the time they spent on them and the associated qualitative data, I began to recognise the amount of control that men had over women's domestic labour. Women's consciousness of their self worth was emerging as they began to recognise the importance of their earnings from their paid work and domestic work for household upkeep and maintenance. However, they still faced internal turmoil because of the subordinate position that they had internalised in

relation to men and because of the contradictions between their ideas of what women 'should' be and do and the reality of their own roles.

Although their income empowered women to purchase goods and enhanced their status as decision-makers, the extent to which they could exercise this power was still defined by a male-dominated society. It is thus apparent that, for the working women of Mauswagon, the capacity to earn an income was only the first step in their journey towards equality with men.

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Appendix Tables

Appendix Table 3.1. Survey population by age group and sex, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

age group	women	men	total % & n(row)
29 and less	30 (*165*)	70 (*72*)	100 (*237*)
30 to 39	48 (*90*)	52 (*82*)	100 (*172*)
40 and above	75 (*45*)	25 (*139*)	100 (*184*)
total n (column)	(*300*)	(*293*)	(*593*)

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey.

Appendix Table 3.2. Relationship of household members 15 years old and over to household head by sex, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

relationship to household head	women (n= 2026)	men (n = 1838)
head	8	48
spouse	41	3
daughter/stepdaughter	30	
son/stepson		35
other relative	14	12
non-relative	7	2
total	100	100

Source: 1993 Baseline Study.

Appendix Table 3.3. Relationship of women in the Survey to the household head by age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

relationship to household head	age group			(n) row total & %
	29 and less	30 to 39	40 to 49	
head	3	8	9	(16) 5
spouse	22	62	77	(126) 42
daughter	59	23	14	(122) 41
sister	10	4	0	(21) 7
other relative	6	2	0	(12) 4
total (column)	100	100	100	100
number	166	90	44	n= 300

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey.

Appendix Table 3.4. Relationship of men in the Survey to the women interviewed by age group, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

Relationship to household head	Age Group			(n) row total & %
	29 and less	30 to 39	40 to 49	
husband	43	75	32	(138) 47
father	0	1	60	(85) 29
brother	47	20	3	(54) 18
other relative	10	4	4	(16) 5
Total (column)	100	100	100	100
number	72	82	139	293

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey.

Appendix Table 3.5. Usual occupation of women and men 15 years old and over, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

occupation	women	men
housekeeper own home	37	14
crafts and production	19	34
student	15	17
sales	9	5
service	8	5
sickly/retired	4	8
professional/technical	4	4
clerical	3	3
agriculture/forestry	0	3
transport &communication	0	7
total	100	100
number	2025	1839

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Baseline Study

Appendix Table 5.1. Ranking of daily expenses as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

priority	work category			
	factory worker		non-factory worker	
	never-married		ever-married	
	factory	non-factory	factory	non-factory
first	72	58	94	88
second	16	35	4	10
third	12	5	2	2
fourth	0	2	0	0
total	100	100	100	100
number	49	43	49	49

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls

Appendix Table 5.2. Ranking of purchase of personal needs as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

priority	work category			
	factory worker		non-factory worker	
	never-married		ever-married	
	factory	non-factory	factory	non-factory
first	22	40	5	0
second	50	36	2	14
third	12	16	18	39
fourth	10	4	53	29
fifth	6	4	12	17
sixth	0	0	10	1
total	100	100	100	100
number	49	45	40	42

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls

Appendix Table 5.3. Ranking of savings as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

priority	work category			
	factory worker		non-factory worker	
	never-married		ever-married	
	factory	non-factory	factory	non-factory
first	4	9	0	0
second	7	5	0	0
third	41	57	16	22
fourth	44	24	36	37
fifth	4	5	44	19
sixth	0	0	4	22
total	100	100	100	100
number	27	21	25	27

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls

Appendix Table 5.4. Ranking of payment of electricity bills as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

priority	work category			
	factory worker		non-factory worker	
	never-married		ever-married	
	factory	non-factory	factory	non-factory
first	0	0	2	3
second	44	46	63	50
third	44	38	29	38
fourth	6	8	6	6
fifth	6	8	0	3
sixth	0	0	0	0
total	100	100	100	100
number	18	13	48	34

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls

Appendix Table 5.5. Ranking of payment of loan(s) as use of income of working women by work category and marital status, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

priority	work category			
	factory worker		non-factory worker	
	never-married		ever-married	
	factory	non-factory	factory	non-factory
first	0	0	0	26
second	11	0	34	25
third	56	100	22	25
fourth	22	0	22	12
fifth	11	0	11	12
sixth	0	0	11	0
total	100	100	100	100
number	9	1	9	8

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, allwomen.sys, wom-inc.sps, ch5b.xls

Appendix Table 5.6. The main breadwinner in never-married and ever-married women's households by women's work category (percentage)

who decides	work category of never-married women		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
self	22	20	0
others	78	80	100
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

who decides	work category of ever-married women		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
self	30	18	0
husband	60	66	96
both husband and wife	10	16	4
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys,womwage.sps, ch5.xls

Appendix Table 5.7. Never-married working women contributing to household expenses, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

contributing to household expenses	work category	
	factory worker	non-factory worker
yes	81	68
no	19	32
total	100	100
number	50	50

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.2, allwomen.sys,womwage.sps, ch5cont.xls

Appendix Table 5.8. Person who decided the number of children in the family by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

who decided	work category		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
wife	28	31	16
husband	28	29	40
both husband and wife	44	41	44
total	100	100	100
number	40	40	46

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Appendix Table 5.9. If both decided, whose decision prevailed on the number of children in the family by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)?

whose decision prevailed	work category		
	factory worker	non-factory worker	homemaker
wife	23	32	14
husband	9	21	32
both husband and wife	68	47	54
total	100	100	100
number	22	19	22

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Appendix Table 5.10. Person who decided the timing of the next child by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category		
who decided	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
wife	22	29	20
husband	40	35	44
both husband and wife	38	37	36
total	100	100	100
number	50	49	50

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Appendix Table 5.11. Person who decided whether child(ren) attend school and which school by ever-married women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category		
who decided	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
wife	27	27	28
husband	20	21	15
both husband and wife	54	52	56
total	100	100	100
number	41	33	39

Note: Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, marwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Appendix Figure 5.12. Person who decided whether women work by women's work category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category of never-married women		
who decided	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	98	98	90
others	2	2	10
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

	work category of ever-married women		
who decided	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	96	90	44
husband	4	8	48
both husband and wife	0	2	8
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, allwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Appendix Table 5.13. Person who decided whom women should go out with by women's work category and marital category, Mauswagon, 1993 (percentage)

	work category of never-married women		
who decided	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	92	96	96
others	8	4	4
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

	work category of ever-married women		
who decided	**factory worker**	**non-factory worker**	**homemaker**
self	92	94	88
husband	8	6	12
total	100	100	100
number	50	50	50

Source: 1993 Status of Women Survey, Appendix Table 5.1, allwomen.sys, allwom.sps, ch5dec.xls

Appendix Table 7.1. Married women: mean number of hours per week spent on housework by women's work category and number of children less than seven years of age

	mean number of hours spent on housework per week		
	work category of mothers		
number of children < 7 years	factory worker n=39 (37)	non factory worker n=25 (22)	homemaker n=36(36)
one	14.7	17.5	27.9
two	12.6	14.9	26.9
three to six	22.6	22.4	51.0

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the number of women who were engaged in a particular household activity.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, allwom.sys, 5child.sps.

Appendix Table 7.2. Married women: mean number of hours per week spent on housework by women's working category and age of youngest child

age of youngest child	mean number of hours spent on housework per week work category of mothers factory worker n=7 (6)	non factory worker n=26 (23)	homemaker n=36 (36)
< one	15.2	11.6	9.2
one	19.2	7.5	40.3
two	22.7	25.2	42.5
three to six	11.9	14.8	28.8

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the number of women who were engaged in a particular household activity.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, allwomen.sys, 5child.sps

Appendix Table 7.3. Mean number of hours per hours per week spent by men in women's households by women's work category and marital status

	mean number of hours spent on housework per week by men **work category of never-married women** **factory worker** **n=49 (37)**	**non factory worker** **n=45 (34)**	**homemaker** **n=50 (39)**
father	11.4	10.8	8.4
brother	10.6	10.1	5.3
others	14.2	2.0	12.0

	mean number of hours spent on housework per week by men **work category of ever-married women' households** **factory worker** **n=50 (45)**	**non factory worker** **n=49 (42)**	**homemaker** **n=50 (42)**
husband	14.5	12.1	8.2
father	14.9	14.5	10.2
brother	0	0.5	0
others	0	5.8	0

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the number of women who were engaged in a particular household activity.

Source: Status of Women Survey, Mauswagon, July to August 1993, menwomen1.sys, menper.sps.